





To the PRINCE.

SIR:

Having ended this taske of Obseruations, and according to your gracious pleasure & command, supplied such parts as were wanting to make vp the Totall of these Commentaries: it doth return again, by the lowest steps of humbleness, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened specially because it carieth Cæsar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the same Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all other profane histories; and so, commended, by his sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maister-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wisdom, may happily the rather deeme it capable of freer passage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for these happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer

Aij. so

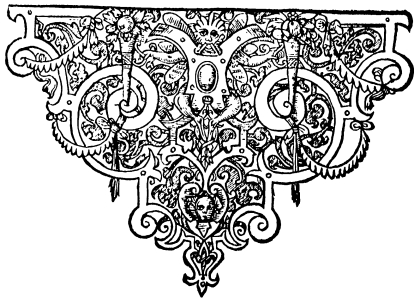
ΒΑΣΙΛ-
ΚΟΝ ΔΕ-
ΠΟΝ.

so well handled, as when it is made an Argument of discourse in times of sweete and plentiful peace. The blessings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the flourishing good of this temporarie life, and the chiefeſt Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humbleſt

of your Highneſſe ſervants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.



In Clementis Edmondi de re militari ad Iul. Cæſaris Commentarios Obſervationes.

Cur creperet motus, & aperto prælia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente reſert?
Cur ſenſus mentis que Ductum rimatur, & offert?
Diſſertæque Anglos bellica multa docet?
ſcilicet, ut media medietur prælia pace,
Anglia bellipotens peccantur iſtus bonos.
Providus hæc certi patria depromit in iſtus.
Vt patria pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Guil. Camdænus, Cl.

To my friend, Maſter Clement Edmonds.

Who thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art,
The ſpirit of Bookes, ſhewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that out leaden Parts convert
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.
Who thus obſerves in ſuch materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Præctices,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankind
Turne in their courſe, and ſees their fatalities.
And hee that can make theſe obſervances,
Muſt be about his Booke, more then his Pen,
For, we may be aſſur'd, hee men can gheſſe,
That thus doth CÆSAR knowe the Man of men,
Whoſe Work, improv'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes CÆSAR more then CÆSAR to containe,

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maſter Clement Edmonds.

Oberving well what Thou haſt well Obſerv'd
In CÆSARS Works, his Warres, and Diſcipline:
Whether His Pen hath can'd more Praiſe, or Thine,
My ſhallow Censure doubtfully hath ſwerv'd.
If ſtrange it were, if wonder it deſerv'd,
That what He wrought ſo faire, Hee wrote ſo fine:
Me thinks, it's ſtranger, that Thy learned Line
Should our beſt Leaders lead, not hauing ſerv'd.
But hereby (Clement) haſt Thou made thee knowne
Able to counſaile, aſſert to recorde
The Conqueſts of a CÆSAR, of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord,
Whom (O) Heav'n proſper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes,

IOSEPH SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER
CLEMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

NOt *Cæsar's* deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of *Pompey* for an Enemy;
Cato to boote; *Rome*, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought
He wrote with the same spirit that hee thought:
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vnargu'd then; and (yet) hath faue from those;
Nor all these, *Edmondes*, or what else, put to
Can so speake *Cæsar*, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his person liv'd scarce one iust age,
And that 'midst enuy and Parts, then, sell by rage;
His deeder too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewer vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In euery councell, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T' all future time, not only doth restore
His Life: but makes, that hee can dye no more.

Ben. Ioufon.

Another, of the same.

WHO, *Edmondes*, reads thy booke, and doth not see
What th' antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confesse:
Nor to giue *Cæsar* this, makes ours the lesse.
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou should'st reueale so much;
And, thence, deprauce thee, and thy Worke: To those
Cæsar stands vp, as from his yre late rofe
By thy great Art: and deth proclaime, by mee,
They murder him againe, that enue thee.

Ben. Ioufon.

READING AND DISCOURSE
are requisite, to make a Souldier perfect in the Arte
Militarie, how great soeuer his knowledge may be, which
long experience; and much practice of
Armes hath gained.



WHEN I consider the weaknes of mans iudgement, in censuring things best knowne vncorsellable, and the disability of his discourse, in discovering the nature of vnaacquainted objects; choosing rather to hold any sensiblie impression, which custome hath by long practice inured, then to hearken to some other more reasonable perswasion: I do not maruell that such Souldiers, whose knowledge groweth onely by experience, and consisteth in the rules of their owne practice, are hardly perswaded, that historie and speculative learning, are of any vse in perfecting of their Art, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; wherein the vse of Armes and atchieuements of war, seeme to haue their chiefest being. But those purer spirits, embelished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes (wherein varietie of accidents, affordeth varietie of instructions, and the mutuall conference of things happened, begeth both similitudes and differences; contrarie natures, but yet ioyntly concurring to season our iudgement with discretion, and to enstall wisdom in the government of the mind) These men, I say, mounting aloft with the wings of contemplation, doe easily discover the ignorance of such Martiallistes, as are only trained vp in the Schoole of practice, and taught their rudiments vnder a few yeeres experience, which serueth to interpret no other author but it selfe, nor can approoue his Maximes, but by his owne authoritie; and are rather moued to pittie their hard fortune, hauing learned onely to be ignorant, then to enue their skill in matter of warre, when they oppose themselues against so manifest a truth as this: that A meer practicall knowledge, cannot make a perfect souldier.

A i.

Which

Which proposition, that I may the better confirme, give me leave to reason a litle of the grounds of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Artes and Sciences; which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in such sort apprehended, that from the varietie of that individualitie, the intellectual power frameth general notions and maximes of rule, vnting tearmes of the same nature in one bead, and distinguishing diuersities by differences of properties, apply diuiding the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions, and exceptions. For, vntlesse the vnderstanding be in this sort qualified, and able by logicallicall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularity to catholike conceptions; and returne againe the same way, to the lowest order of his partitions, the mind cannot bee saide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding herselfe by some broken precepts, seeleth more want by that shee hath not, then benefite by that she hath.

Whereby it followeth, that a Science diuided into many branches, & consisting in the multiplicitie of diuers members, being all so interessed in the Bulk, that a Mainie of the smallest part, causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be said to be thoroughly attained, nor conceiued with such a profitting apprehension as stealeth the mind with true iudgement, and maketh the Scholler, Maister in his Arte, vntlesse the nature of these particularities be first had and obtained.

And forasmuch as no one Science or faculty whatsoever, in multitude and pluralitie of parts, may anie way be comparable to the Art Militarie, wherein euery small and vnexpected circumstance, quite altereth the nature of the action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties, is blemished with the dissimilitude of their disagreeing parts; it cannot bee denied, but hee that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needs be thought a more perfect souldier, and deserueth a title of greater dignitie in the profession of Armes, then such as content themselves with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be said at all to be souldiers; so with them and no more, they no way deserue the name of skillfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meeite experience, or experience ioyned with reading and discourse, doe least the minde with more varietie and choice of matter, or enertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vse of Armes, I will vnto no other reason to determine of this question, then that which Franciscus Patricius alleadgeth in his Parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (saith he) doth see either the course of the whole, or but a part only. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned lesse then he that saw the whole: but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre; he hath notwithstanding learned lesse then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not

scene

scene so much as another that hath serued in three seuerall warres: and so by degrees, a souldier that hath serued tenne yeeres, must needs knowe more then one that hath not serued so long. And to conclude, hee that hath receiued 22 yeeres stipend (which was the iust time of seruice amongst the Romans before a Souldier could be dimitt) hath greater means of experience then another, that hath not so long a time followed the Campe, and cannot challenge a discharge by order and custome. And hence it consequently followeth, that if in one, or more, or all these warres, there haue happened few or no actions of seruice, which might teach a souldier the practice of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labor. And if the war through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe Commanders, haue bin ill caried, he can boast of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of Militarie discipline: if the part which he followed, were defeated and ouerthrowne; hee knoweth by experience how to lose, but not how to gaine. And therefore it is not only experience and practice which maketh a souldier worthy of his name; but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise fro the varietie of humane actions; wherein reason and error, like Marchants in traffick, interchange contrary euents of Fortune, giuing sometime copper for silver, and balm for poyson, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answere their directions. And this knowledge is onely to be circumscribed in the registers of Antiquitie and in histories, recording the motions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Caesar (whose actions are the subiect of these discourses) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the Prouinces of Spaine, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharsalia, was held a souldier surmounting enuie and all her exceptions: and yet notwithstanding all this; the battell he had with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquests, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull overthrow: for, having posselt himselfe of a hill of great aduantage, he beganne to encampe himselfe in the toppes thereof. Which Pharnaces percciuing (being lodged likewise with his Camp vpon a Mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbatelled his men; marched down from his camp into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romans were busied about their intrenchments, to giue them battell. All which, Caesarooke but for a brauado: and measuring the enemy by himselfe, could not be perswaded that any such feolehardines could carry men headlong into so dangerous an aduenture, vntil they were come to neere, that he had scarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and to geue order for the battell. Which so amazed the Romaines, that vntlesse, as Caesar himselfe saith, the aduantage of the place, and the benignitie of the God, had greatly fauoured them, Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the overthrow of Pompey & the Senat, and restored the Romaine Empire to liberty. Which may leaue vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which in Caesar was infinite) to perfect our knowledge with varietie of chances; and to meditate vpon the effects of other mens aduentures, that their harmes may be our warnings, and their happy proceedings, our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongst so many decades of History, which pregnant wits haue

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presented

presented to these later ages, we seldom or neuer meet with any one accident which impeth in all points with another of the like nature, that shall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or setting forth of an Armie; and so doe seeme to reape little benefit by that wee read, and make small vie of our great travell: Yet we must vnderstand, that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the soueraigne power of the discursive facultie, receive great commodities, by whatsoeuer falleth vnder their iurisdiction, and suffer no action to passe without detriall of his nature, and examination of his fate; that so the iudgement may not be defrauded of her reuenges, nor the mind of her learning. For, notwithstanding disagreeing circumstances, and differences of formes, which seeme to cut-off the priuledge of imitation, and frustrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading: the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the vie, and looke into the inconueniences of these wants and diuersities, and by the helpe of reason, to turne it to her aduantage; or so to counterpoise the defect, that in triall and execution, it shall not appeare anie disadvantage. For, as in all other Sciences, and namely, in Geometry, of certaine bare elements, and common sentences, which senle admitteth to the apprehension, the powers of the soule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinite vie, proceeding with certaintie of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they goe, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should erect such curious and beautiful ouildings: so in the Arte Military, these examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kind of principles, on which the mind worketh to her best aduantage, and vseth reason with such dexteritie, that of inequalities, shee concludeth an equalitie, and of dissimilitudes most sweet resemblances; and so she worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in time groweth so absolute in knowledge, that her sufficiency needeth no further directions. But as Lomazzo the Milicise, in that excellent worke which hee writ of picturing, saith of a skillfull Painter; that being to draw a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer stand to take the symmetry by scale, nor make it out according to rule: but hauing his iudgement habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the varietie of shapcs and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eye, and his eye directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both, with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them serue for a rule whereby the true measures of Nature are exactly expressed: The like may I say of a skillfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his facultie, when knowledge hath once purified his iudgement, and tuned it to the key of true apprehension.

And although there are many that will easily admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblance of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no means acknowledge, that those monstrous & inimitable examples of valour & magnanimity (whereof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should neuer want such treasure) can any way auail the manners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be, would appeare but counterfeits to the lustre of a golden age, nor yet comparable

Lib. 3.

ble to siluer or brasse, or the strength of yron, but deserue no better title then earth or clay, wherof the frame of this age consisteth. For, what resemblance (say they) is between the customs of our times, & the actions of those ancient Heroes? They obserued equity as well in war as in peace: for, vertue rather flourished by the naturall disposition of men, then by lawe and authoritie; the tenure of their Empire was, valour in war, and concorde in peace; the greatest treasure which they esteemed, were the deedes of Armes which they had achieved for their country, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their priuate houses with glory, pardoning rather then prosecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquished but ability of doing iniury: But the course of our times hath another bias; for, couetousnesse hath subuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughts, and subtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of spending is by waste and prodigality; not esteeming what we haue of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated & women impudent, vsing riches as seruants to wickednesse, and preventing Natures appetite with wanton luxurie; supplanting vertue with trechery, & vsing victory with such impietie, as though *inuiam facere, were imperio vti*: and therefore the exemplary patterns of former times wherin true honour is expressed, may serue to be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too subtil to deale with honesty, and wanting courage to encounter valour. I must needs confesse, that he that compareth the historie of Liuius with that of Guichardine, shall find great difference in the subiects which they handle; for, Liuius triumpheth in the conquests of vertue, and in euery page erecteth trophies vnto valour, making his discourse like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is described in her entire Maistie, and so sweetened with the presence & seruice of the Graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellency, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theseus taske to perform, being to winde through the labyrinths of subtilty, and discouer the quaint practices of politicians: wherein publike & open designs are oftentimes but shadows of more secret projects, and these againe serue as foiles to more eminent intentions; being also discoloured with dissimulation, and so insinuated in the sleights of subtiltie, that when you look for war, you shall find peace; and expecting peace, you shall fall into troubles, dissensions and wars: So crabbed and crooked is his argument in respect of Liuius fortune, and such art is required to vnfolde the truth of these mysteries.

But to answer this obiection in a word, and so to proceed to that which followeth, I say those immortal memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more necessarily to be knownen, then any stratagems of subtler ages: for, equitie and valour being truly apprehended, so feason the motions of the soule, that albeit in so corrupt a course, they cannot peraduenture stir vp imitation: yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practices, and diuclish deuities, when euill is reprobed by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the

author.

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steps which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especially these of later times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a Souldier perfect in that point.

Let not therefore any man despise the found instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helps that history doth offer to perfect the weaknes of a short experience; especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for, I take the office of a chiefe Commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest wisdom that may be apprehended by naturall meanes; being to manage a multitude of disageeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a designe of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affectiōs and apprehensions according to the accidents which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true iudgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end: wherein our providence cannot haue enough eyther from learning or experience, to prevent disadvantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our iudgement, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as beholde the atchievements of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, hauing themselves the like meanes to consecrate their memory to succeeding ages, wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reap the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thinke alter the knowledge of our owne fortune, & long to foresee the end of that race which wee haue taken, which is the chiefe matter of consequence in the vie of Arms; what better coniecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not unlikely to fort vnto like ends?

S. Iust. de bello in. iur.

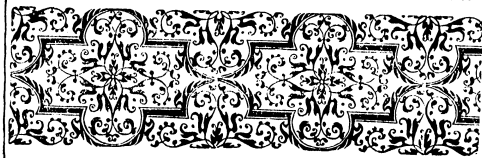
And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Art, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answer this question: who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus; *Qui postquam consules facti sunt, ad a Maiorum & Cyacorum militaria praecepta legere ceperint: homines praepositi, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, & usu prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practice (although it follow it in course of time; for, there is no reading, but of some thing practiced before,) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to read, when they should practice that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge, by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & book-learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, so far much as all his knowledge came by meer experience. But howeuer, his iudgement was good in this point: for, since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible resemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expressed,

fed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to dispose it in that sort, as shall best agree with the occurrences of such natures, as are necessarily interested both in the means and in the end thereof? And therefore speculative knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the course of all practice, is first to be respected.

But that I may not seeme partiall in this controuersie, but carrie an equal hand betwene two so necessarie yoke-fellowes, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practice, and define the good which cometh from experience; that so nothing that hath beene spoken may seeme to come from affection, or proceed from the forge of vnusult partiality. And first it cannot be denied, but that practice giueth boldnesse and assurance in action, and maketh me expert in such things they take in hand: for, no man can rest vpon such certainty, through the theorie of knowledge, as he that hath seene his learning verified by practice, and acknowledged by the testimonie of assured proof: besides, there are many other accomplishments gotten onely by practice, which grace the presence of knowledge, and giue credit to that which we haue read, as first to learn the vie & aduantage of the Arms which we beare; secondly, by frequent aspect & familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terror, to learne to feare nothing but dishonour, to make no difference between heate and colde, sommer and winter, to sleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the same time to take pains & suffer penury, with many other difficulties which custom maketh easie, and cannot be gotten but by vie and practice.

And thus at length, I haue brought a shallow discourse to an abrupt end, wishing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifest proof of reason, to demonstrate the necessitie, that both these parts were by our soldiers to regarded, that neither practice might march in obinate blindnesse without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehension without practice; but that both of them may be respected, as necessarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherein knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and spirit to the action, and practice as the materiall substance maketh it of a sensible being, and like a skilfull workman expresseth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore-conceiued: wishing no man to despaire of effecting that by practice, which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For, *Cur desepres nunc posse fieri, quod iam toties factum est?*

THE



I.

THE SVMMME OF THE FIRST
BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES;
 WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE
 same, discouering the excellencie of
Cæsars Militia.

THE ARGVMENT.

IN this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetij; the second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluetians to entertaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their defeat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first giueth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

Switcheers.

CHAP. I.

Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their native
seate, and pr opound to themselves larger territories in
 the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth
this humour, for his owne ad-
 uantage.



GALLIA is all diuided into three parts; whereof the Belges do inhabire one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all these do differ each from other in manners, language, & in lawes. The riuer Garon doth separate the Galles from the Aquitanes, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike, as for the rest off the ciuillitie & politure of the Prouince, & lesse effeminate mens minds: as likewise being sited next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with who they haue continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluetians

Matrona.
Sequana.

B.

doe

doe excell the rest of the Gallies in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts with the Germanes, for defence of their owne territories, or by invading theirs. The part inhabited by the Gallies, beginneth at the river Rhene, and is bounded with Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching also to the Rhene, as a line from the Sequans & Heluetians, it stretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreme confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the East. Aquitania spreadeth itself between the river Garun & the Pyrenean hills, and butteth upon the Spanish Ocean between the West and the North.

Amongst the Heluetians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble descent and store of treasure: & when M. Metella and M. Piso were Consuls, being stirred up with the desire of a kingdom, he mooved the Nobilitie to a commotion; perswading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole power: as an easie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & prowess, to seize upon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perswade this, for that the Heluetians were on every side shut up, by the strength & nature of the place wherein they dwelt; on the one side, with the depth and breadth of the river Rhene, which divideth their Country from the Germanes; on the other side, with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they were flanked with the lake Lemanus, & the river Rhone, parting their territories from our Province.

Hence it happened, that being thus straightened, they could not easily enlarge themselves, or make war upon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, being men wholly bent to Armes and war, were much grieved, as having too little elbow-room for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country containing but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with these inducements, and mooved specially with the authority of Orgetorix, they resolved to make provision of such things as were requisite for their expedition; bought great number of Caves, and horses for carriages; sowed much tillage, that they might have plenty of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the perswading and supply of which things, they tooke 2 yeeres to be sufficient; and in the third, enacted their setting forward by a solemn Law, assigning Orgetorix to give order for that which remained.

Cæsar hanc viam
non curavit
perire, ut
non populus
satis
fuerit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



That will examine this expedition of the Heluetians, by the transigrations and flittings of other Nations, shall find some unexamined particularities in the course of their proceeding: for, first it hath never beene heard, that any people vitley abandoned that Country which Nature or providence had allotted the, unless they were driven thereto by a generall calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & oppression of a neighbor nation, as were the Suenians, who thought it great honor to suffer no man to border upon their confines: for

some

some other universall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to vnderake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Country were so multiplied, that the place was over-charged with multitudes of offspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to sustaine, the abounding surplus was sent out to seek new fortunes in foraine Countreies, and to possesse themselves of a resting seate; which might recompence the wants of their native Country, with a plentifull revenue of necessary suppléments. And in this sort, we read that Rome sent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Gallies disburdened themselves of their superfluitie, and sent them into Asia. The Gothes came from the lands of the Baltick sea, & in Sulla his time, swarmed over Germanie: besides many other Nations, whose transigrations are particularly described by Lazius. But amongst all these, we find none that so forsooke their Country, but there remained some behind to inhabit the same; from whence, as from a fountaine, succeeding ages might deriue the streame of that over-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the causes, which mooved them vnto it. For, their manner was in all such expeditions, and sending out of Colonies, to diuide themselves into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they diuided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then casting lots, that part which went out to seeke new adventures, left their lands & possessions to the rest that remained at home; and so by industrie, they supplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne upon them. And this was the meanes, which the first inhabitants of the earth found out after the flood, to people the uninhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of scarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



That would prognosticate by the course of these severall proceedings, whether of the two brookened better successe, hath greater reason to foretell happinesse to these which I last spake of, then to the Heluetians; vnlesse their valour were the greater, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuie would cast upon them: for, an action which fauoureth of necessitie (which was alwaies vnderstood in sending out a Colony) hath a more plausible passport amongst men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; so on the other side, they count it gaine to punish pride with shame, and to oppole themselves against the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Orgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discovereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the substance of honour, becoming already of greatest power amongst the Helvetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconveniencies of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, fitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes resteth it selfe in meane places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For proove whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferior to the greatest Potentates of their time, being themselves but private Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howe soever; the opportunitie of changing their loile, was well observed by Orgetorix, as the fittest meanes to attempt an innovation: but the successe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happinesse, wherein euery man thinketh himselfe particularly interested, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuersall extasse of ioy, will easilie admit an alteration of their State: so, if the issue be in any respect vnforgotten, no man will acknowledge himselfe faultie; but euery one desiring to discharge his passion vpon some object, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are discovered: his death. The Helvetians continue the resolution of their expedition, and prepare themselves accordingly.

Cæsar.



Orgetorix, thereupon, undertook imploiment to the adioyning States; and first perswaded Casticus, the sonne of Catamantides, a Sequan (whose father had for many yeeres reigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled with the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signiorie of that State which his Father formerly inioyed; and in like manner, dealt with Dumnorix the Heduan, Dumnorix brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Province, & verie well beloued of

the

the Commons) to endeavour the like there; and withall, gave him his daughter in marriage: shewing them by lively reasons, that it was an easie matter to effect their desires; for that he being sure of the soveraigntie of his State, there was no doubt but the Helvetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no question to settle them in those kingdome; with his power and forces. Drawne on with these inducements, they gave faith and oath each to other, hoping with the support of the soveraigntie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselves of all Gallia.

This thing being discovered, the Helvetians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to answer the matter in Durance: whose punishment vpon the Attaint, was to be burned alive. Against the day of trial, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes hee escaped a iudiciall hearing. The people, thereupon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate should execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, should raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead, not without suspicion (as was conceived) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Helvetians did pursue their former designe of leaving their Country: and when they thought themselves readie prepared, they set fire on all their Townes (which were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, besides private houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, save that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to undergoe all hazards: And commaunded that euery man should carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for three Months.

Moreouer also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke vnto them the Boy, which had dwelt beyond the Rhine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Country. There were onely two waies which gave them passage out of their Country: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betwene the hill Iura, & the River Rhone, by which a single Cart could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging over, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Province, farre easier and readier; forasmuch as the river Rhone, running betwene the Helvetians and the * Allobroges (who were lately brought in obedience to the people of Rome) did give passage in diuers places by Forodes.

The utmost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Helvetians, is Geneva; whereunto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Helvetians; who doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to carry no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to give them passage. Things being now ready for their iourney, they assigned a day when all should meete together vpon the banks of Rhone: which day was the first of the Calends of April, in the Consulship of L. Piso, and A. Gabinius.

* Savoyens.

OBSERVATION.

The omission
in the Helue-
tian expedi-
tion.



These pioussoes were all requisite; so one thing was omitted, which might have furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions roused themselves out of their dens; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appease their furie. Or at the least, it behooued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their designements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betweene the hill Iura and the riuer Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-euer; their error was, that after two yeeres piousion to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the
Romane Prouince: he fortifieth the passage
betweene the hill Iura, and the
lake of Geneva.

Cæsar.
* Rome.



As soone as Cæsar was aduertised, that their purpose was to passe thorough our Prouince, he hastied to leaue the * Citie, & passing by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneva. And inuolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneva.

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæsars arriuall, they sent diuers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadors vnto him, whereof Numeius & Veredotius were the chiefe; to giue him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his sufferance and permission.

Cæsar, well remembering how Lu. Cæsius the Consull was slaine, his Armie beaten, and the souldiers put vnder the yoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men so ill affected, could forbear to offer wrongs & inuolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as were caused

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to be inrolled, he answered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a wall of sixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that diuideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, beeing in length nineteene miles; and disposed garrizons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happily they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadors returned, for a resolution, he utterly denied to giue any leaue to passe through the Prouince; hauing neither custome nor president from the people of Rome, to varrant him in that kind. And if they should endeaunour it by force of Armes, he would oppagne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get some other aduantage, as it was then of great vlt to Cæsar, and hath sometimes been practised to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a circumspect enemy, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot easily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so inuitch him with greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present aduantage; especially if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.


THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Her request of the Heluetians seemed to deserue a facile answer; being in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuer Rhone: which was to passe through the Prouince, with as much speed & as little hurt as they could. But Cæsar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already past, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maiestie of the Romane Empire to be interessed in the answers, beeing either to maintaine her greatnes, by resisting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as sought her ruine: which in matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to be an vnwise course, to suffer an enemy to haue meanes of doing hurt; considering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once iniured: not but that he could peraduenture be content to end the quarrell vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduantage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end to an iniurious beginning.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Concerning this marvellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how serviceable such works were unto him in all his wars; in what fort, and in how small a time they were made; I will deferre the treatise of them untill I come to the height of Alesia, where he gave some ground of that hyperbolicall speech: *An me deleto, non animaduertebatis decem habere lectas quidem legiones populum Romanum, quæ non solum vobis obsistere sed etiam caelum diruerè possent?*

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluetians, failing to passe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæsar hasteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions; and returning, over-throweth part of them at the riuer Arar.

Cæsar.



The Heluetians, frustrated of their former hope, went about, some with boats coupled together, others with Flats (where of they made great store) the rest, by fords and places where the Riuer was shallowe, sometimes in the day, and oftentimes in the night, to breake out: but being beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourse of souldiers, and multitude of weapons, they desisted from that attempt.

There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take by reason of the narrowness thereof, but by the fauour of the Countrey. And forasmuch, as of themselves they were able to preuaile little therein, they sent Messengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine so much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, what through fauour and bountious carriage, was of great power in his Countrey, much affecting the Heluetians, by reason of his marriage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a desire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new proiects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courses. And there-upon, undertaking the business, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to passe through their Countreies, giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans should not interrupt the Heluetians in their Iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Countrey.

It was told Cæsar, that the Heluetians were determined to passe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduans, on the confines of the Santons, who are not farre from the borders of the Tholians, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, he foresaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation, and such as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come so neere them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentious Countrey.

For

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to command those works, and he himselfe made great Iourneys to get into Italy, where he inrolled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and with these five legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way the Centrons, Garocies, and Caturiges, taking advantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in Ieasen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Vocontij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so unto the Sabusians, that are the first beyond the Rhene, bordering vpon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans into the Dominions of the Heduans, and began to forage & pillage their Countrey. Who finding themselves vnable to make resistance, sent Messengers to Cæsar to require aide; shewing their deserts to be such from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater respect, then to haue their Countrey spoiled, their children led into captiuitie, their townes assaulted and taken, as it were in the sight of the Romaine Army. At the same instant likewise, the Ambarri, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduans, aduertised Cæsar, that their Countrey was utterly wasted, and they scarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner also, the Allobroges, that had farmes and possessions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Cæsar, complaining that there was nothing left them but the soile of their Countrey.

With which aduertisements, Cæsar was so moued, that he thought it not convenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all wasted, and that the Heluetians were come unto the Zantones. The Riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the Rhone, passeth away with such a silence, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be discerned which way the water taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians passe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæsar was aduertised by his Discouersers, that three parts of their forces were already past the water, and that the fourth was left behind on this side the riuer; about the third watch of the night he went out of the Camp with three legions, and surprizing that part which was not as yet gotte ouer the riuer, slew a great part of them: the rest fled into the next woods.

This part was the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians being all parted into foure diuisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, slew L. Caisius the Consul, and put his Army under the Yoke. So, whether it were by chance, or the providence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue so great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the first that did penance for the same. Wherein, Cæsar took reuenge, not onely of the publike, but of his particular los; forasmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Caisius, slaine L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Piso, his father in law.

* Soane.

Zuricke.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis defeat being chiefly a service of execution, vpon such as were taken at a dangerous disadvantage, which men call vnaware, containeth these two aduises. First, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haire of his horse taile hath proued to be very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to overcome the whole. Secondly, it may serue for a caueat, so to transport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemy is within a reasonable march, that no part may be so seuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and separate them from themselves. The safest and most honourable way, to transport an Armie ouer a riuer, is by a bridge, placing at each end sufficient troopes of horse and foot, to defend the Armie from suddaine assaults, as they passe ouer the water; and thus went Cæsar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two severall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The manner of their watch.



Concerning the circumstance of time, when Cæsar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we must vnderstand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 watches, euery watch containing three houres; and these watches were distinguished by severall notes and sound of Cornets or Trumpers; that by the distinction and diuersitie thereof, it might easily be knowne what watch was sounded. The charge and office of sounding the watches, belonged to the chiefe Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whose paultion the Trumpeters attended, to be directed by his houre-glasse.

The first watch began alwaies at sunne-setting, and continued three houres (I vnderstand such houres as the night contained, being diuided into twelve; for, the Romans diuided their night as well as their day into twelve equall spaces, which they called houres): the second watch continued vntill midnight and then the third watch began, &c. contained likewise three houres; the fourth was equall to the rest, and continued vntill sunne-rising. So that by this phrase *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderstand, that Cæsar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and so we must conceiue of the rest of the watches, as often as we shall find them mentioned in historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the riuer Arar: his horsemen incountred with the Heluctians, and were put to the worke.



After this overthrow, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer Arar, and carried ouer his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluctian forces. The Heluctians, much daunted at his suddaine coming, that had gotte ouer the riuer in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadors vnto him, of whom Dinico was chiefe, that commanded the Heluctians in the warre against Cæsius: who dealt with Cæsar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluctians, they would go into any part which Cæsar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the overture which the people of Rome receiued by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne worrth, that they had surprized at vnawares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the riuer could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and denices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place wherein they now were, did not get a Name, or carie the marke to all future ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the utter destruction of his Army.

To this, Cæsar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these busineses, in that he well remembered and knew those things, which the Heluctian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieved thereat, because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done vnto them, it were a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his error, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & fresh iniuries in that they had attempted to pass through the Prouince by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Heluctians, Ambar, & Allobrogians? that did so insolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that these iniuries were suffered so long time to rest vnreneged, came all in the end to one passe. For, the immortall Gods were wont sometimes to giue happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grievous for their offences. Howbeit, if they would giue hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed vpon, and satisfie the Heluctians and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iniuries they had done vnto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancestors, to take hostages rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses: and there-

upon

Cæsar.

upon departed. The next day they remoued the Campe, and the like did Cæsar, sending all his horse before, to the number of foure thousand (which he had raised in the Province, and drawne from the Heluans, & there Associates) to vnderstand which way the Enemy tooke: vvhō, prosecuting the yeare-ward ouerhotly, were forced to vnder take the Heluetican Canallry, in a place of disadvantage; and thereby lost some few of their Company.

The Enemy made proud with that encounter, hauing with five hundred horse beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head with more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to fallly out of the Rearward, and assault our Partie. Cæsar kept backe his men from fighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but five or six miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.



His example of the Helueticans, may lesson a Commander, not to waxe insolent vpon euery ouerthrowe which the enemie taketh, but duly to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an ouerthrowe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismayed at a casual mishap.

And herein, let a heedfull warinesse so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and ieaousie to keep still that sweet founding fame on foote, may as farre surpass the industrie which he first vied to obtaine it, as the continuance of happinesse doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancy, euen to the manhood of her age, she neuer found want of that which she lusteth after: yet when she meeteth with a counterbuffe to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as if shee had neuer receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie object which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present paiement, or returneth discontentment vnto the mind.

And, as our soule is of an euerslasting being, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning: so shee seeketh a perpetuall continuance of such things which shee lusteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeavour to maintaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and so to giue the Helueticans battell: but was put off by false intelligence. The opportunitie being lost, hee intendeth provision of Corne.



In the meane time, Cæsar pressed the Heluans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise: for, by reason of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre from being ripe; but also, that there was scarce forrage for the horses. And, the provisions which were brought along the riuer Auar, stood him in small stead at that time, forasmuch as the Helueticans had tooke their iourney cleane from the Riuer, and that he would by no means forsake them.

The Heluans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out still it was upon coming. But, when Cæsar found the matter so long delayed, & that the day of meeting out Corne to the souldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefest Princes of the Heluans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongst them, Dinitacus and Liscus, vvho for that time were the soueraigne Magistrates (vvhich they call Vergobret, being yeerely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne from them, the Enemy being so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their sake, and at their request, he had undertooke that warfare. Whereat hee was the rather grieved, because he found himselfe forsaken of them.

At length, Liscus, moued vvith Cæsars speech, discovered (vvhich before hee had kept secret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being private persons, then they could doe being Magistrates. These, by seditious and bad speeches, did deser the people from bringing Corne: shewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to vndergoe the soueraignty of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they were not to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Helueticans, they would bereaue the Heluans of their libertie, with the rest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or vvhatsoeuer else is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither were they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well vvithall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæsar vvith these things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cæsar, perceiued that Dammorix, Dinitacus brother, was shot at by this speech
C.

Cæsar.

of *Lisius*: but, forasmuch as hee would not haue those things handled in the presence of so manie, hee speedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining *Lisius*, asked prinatly after those things which he had deliuered in the Assembly, wherunto he spake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring secretlie of others, he found it to be true, that *Dumnorix* was of great courage, and singularly fauoured for his liberallitie of the Common people: Desirous of nouelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impositions of the *Heduns*, forasmuch as no man durst contradiect what he would haue done. By which courtes, he had increased his priuate estate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horsemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainement, and were continually about him, beeing not onely powerfull at home, but abroad also, amongst diuers of the neighbour States. And for this cause, had married his Mother to a great Rich man, and of a Noble house, in the Country of the *Bituriges*; himselfe had tooke a wife of the *Heluetians*, had matched his sister by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wished well to the *Heluetians*: and on the other side, hated the *Romaines*, and specially *Cæsar*, of all others; for that by their coming into *Gallia*, his power was weakened, and *Dimitiacus* his brother restored to his ancient honour and dignitie. If any mischance happened to the *Romaines*, his hope was to obtaine the Principalltie by the fauour of the *Heluetians*: where-as the Soueraigntie of the *Romaines*, made him not onely despaire of the kingdom, but also of the fauour, or what other thing hee now inioyed. And *Cæsar* had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the *Canabrie* was routed, came from *Dumnorix*, and his horsemen: for, hee commanded those troopes which the *Heduns* had sent to aide *Cæsar*, and out of that disorder, the rest of the *Canabrie* tooke a flight.

Which things being discovered, forasmuch as these suspicions were seconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the *Heluetians* through the confines of the *Sequans*, had caused hostages to be giuen on either side, and done all those things, not onely without vnuant from the State, but without acquainting them therewith. And lastly, in that he was accused by the Magistrate of the *Heduns*, hee thought it cause sufficient for him to punish him, or to command the State to doe iustice vpon him. One thing there was which might seem to oppugne all this; the singular affection of *Dimitiacus*, his brother, to the people of *Rome*; the great loue he bare particularly to *Cæsar*: his loyalty, iustice & temperance: and therefore he feared, least his punishment might any way alienate or offend *Dimitiacus* sincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called *Dimitiacus*, and putting aside the ordinarie Interpreters, hee spake to him by *M. Valerius Proculus*, one of the principall men of the Province of *Gallia*, his familiar friend, and whom hee specially trusted in matters of importance, and tooke notice what *Dumnorix* had uttered in his presence, at a Councell of the *Galles*, shewing also what informations hee had priuately receiued concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, desired, that without any offence to him, either hee himselfe might call him in question, or the State take some course in the same.

Dimiti-

Dimitiacus, embracing *Cæsar*, with many teares besought him, not to take a niecesse course vwith his brother; hee knew well that all those things were true, neither was there any man more grieved thereat then himselfe. For, wher-as he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of *Gallia*, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee used those meanes as an yet neuer thelesse, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if *Cæsar* should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but would thinke, it was done vwith his prinitie, considering the place he held in his fauour; wherupon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and dislike of all *Gallia*.

As hee uttered these things, with many other words, accompanied vwith teares, *Cæsar*, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such was the respect he had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgane both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which he had iustly conceiued for the same. And therupon, called *Dumnorix* before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein he had deserved much blame and reproofe; told him what he had vnderstood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to auoid all occasions of mislike for the future; that which was past, hee had forgiven him, at *Dimitiacus* his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espialls vpon him, to obserue his courses; that he might be informed what he did, and with whom he conuersed.

The same day, vnderstanding by the Discoverers, that the Enemy was lodged vnder a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a vidence of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third watch of the night, hee sent away *T. Labienus* the Legat, vwith two legions, and those Guides that knew the way; commanding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth watch, marched on after the Enemy, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsemen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of *L. Sylla*, and afterwards vwith *M. Crassus*, was sent before, vwith the Discoverers. At the breaking of the day, when *Labienus* had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe was come within a mile and a halfe of the *Heluetian* Campe, without any notice to the Enemy, either of his or *Labienus* approach (as was afterwards found by the Captiues) *Causidius* came running as fast as his horse could driue, and told him, that the Hill which *Labienus* should haue taken, was held by the *Galles*; which hee perceived plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the *Heluetians*. Wherupon, *Cæsar* drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions hee had from *Cæsar*, not to fight, vwith less hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diuers parts at once) when he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar understood by the Discoverers, that the hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dylodged, & that Causidius was so astonysht with feare, that he reported to have seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly used, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, so much as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that he was but eighteen miles distant from Bibract, a great and opulent City of the Tieduans, hee turned aside from the Heluctians, and made towards Bibract.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Places of advantage to the Romanes warres.



He getting of this hill, as a place of advantage, was marvellous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the advantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies fro all difficulties, to what extremities sooner they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of their Darts & Slings, and especially their Piles; which being a heavy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so available, being cast countermount or in a plaine level, as when the descent and down-fall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impression. Neither can the shock at hancy-blows bee any thing so furious (which was a point of great respect in their batells) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the innuue of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the favour of the place afforded them means of a strong retreat, in the highest part whereof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demanded, whether the vantage ground be of like use in regard of our weapons: I answer, that in a skimmish of shotte, I take the advantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the first volie, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the noise of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needs flie at random, and be altogether vneffectuall; but when the noise shall be raised vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet being rammed in with his owne weight, shall flie with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stoppt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shoock and encounter, to be advantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would desire as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as seldome times it is.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

BY Causidius his demeanour, we see that verified which Physitions affirme, that Nothing will sooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper seat, then the passion of feare; and that amongst souldiers themselves, whom custome hath made familiar acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of sheepe into a squadron of Corslets, & a few canes or Ostlers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may serue to aduise a discreet Generall, not easily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in so peritt a discipline, and so experienced in the seruice of three famous Chieffes, was so surprisled with feare, that hee could not discern his friends from his enemies: but I will speake more of this passion, in the war with Ariouistus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN euery relation throughout the whole course of this historie, the first words are commonly these, *Refrmentaria comparata*; as the foundation & strength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military. but must be forced to relieue that inconvenience, with the losse of many other advantages of great consequence. Which gaue occasion to Gaspard de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongst other Oracles of truth, wherein his mind was marvellously enriched, often to vse this saying; that He that wil shape that beast (meaning war) must beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obserued by Cæsar, who best knew how to expresse the true portraiture of that beast, in due proportion & lively resemblance.

The order of the Romans was, at the day of measuring, to giue corne to euery particular souldier, for a certain time, which was commonly defined by circumstances: and by the measure which was giuen the, they knew the day of the next payment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a bushell a weeke, which was thought sufficient for him and his seruant; for, if they had paid the their whole stipend in money, it might haue bene wasted in vnnecessarie expences: but by this means they were sure of prouision for the time determined; & the sequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwaies with them, & made into hasty cakes, dainty enough for a souldiers mouth, by no other but themselves and their seruants. Neither could they sell it or exchange it for bread; for, Salust reckoneth this vnmongst other dishonours of the discipline corrupted, that the souldiers sold away their corne, which was giuen the by the Treasurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this manner of prouision had many speciall comodities, which are not incident to our custome of victualing; for it is impossible, that victuals

C 3.

should

Their manner of victualling

should follow an Armie vpon a seruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with sufficient prouision for an Armie: And by that means, the Generall cannot attend aduantages & fittest opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall termes, or to found an vnwilling retreat.

And whereas the Victualers are for the most part voluntarie, respecting nothing but their gaine; and the souldiers on the other side, carelesse of the morrow, and prodigall of the present: in that turbulent mar-market, where the seller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer respecteth neither the publique good, nor his priuate commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confusion: Where-as the Romans, by their manner of prouision, imposed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commander, whose dutie it was to provide store of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon euery priuate souldier, whom it especially concerned to see, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee wasted through negligence or prodigality: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Provinces, & the next confederate States, furnished their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouision of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of harvest, the souldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threshed and cleansed to the Treasurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of payment.

But, to leaue this frugall and prouident manner of prouision, as vnpossible to be imitated by this age, lets returne to our historie, and see how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable error, to their last ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæsar, and ouertake the Rereward. He imbattaileth his legions vpon the side of a hill: and giueth order for the Battaille.

Cæsar.



Hereof the Enemy being aduertised, by certaine fugitiues of the troope of horse, commanded by L. Emilius, presently; whether it were that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for that the day before, hauing the aduantage of the upper ground, they refused to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouision of Corne, they altered their purpose, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cæsar perceiving, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and sent the Canalicus to sustaine the

the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midst of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old souldiers; and vpon the highest ridge thereof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled in the hither Gallia, together with the associate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and shewing the cariages in one place: which he commanded to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the uppermost battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other side, conuayed their cariages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæsars horsemen, with a thick thronged Squadron, they put themselves into a Phalanx, & so pressed vnder the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning the true sense of this triple battell, which Cæsar made vpon the side of the hill, I vnderstand it according to the ancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infancy of their Militarie discipline, diuided their Armie into three sort of souldiers, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as no part of their standing battels; and of these they made three severall battels, from front to back. In the first battell were the *Hastati*, and they possessed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind these, in a convenient distance, stood the *Principes*, in like sort and order disposed, and were called *Acies secunda*: and lastly, in a like correspondent distance, were the *Triarij* imbattelled, and made *Acies tertiam*.

Their legion consisted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euerie cohort consisted of three small Companies, which they named *Manipuli*: a maniple of the *Hastati*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarij*, as I will more particularly set downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of souldiers were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and these were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vled to this purpose: The *Hastati*, being in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themselves too weake to repell the enemy, or were happily forced to a retreat, they drew themselves through these allies or distances, which were in the second battell, betwene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the space which was betwene the *Principes* and the *Triarij*; and there they rested themselves, whilst the *Princes* tooke their place, and charged the Enemy. Or otherwise, if the Commanders found it needfull, they hid vp those distances of the *Principes*: and foynited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in grosse; and then, if they prevailed not, they retired into the spaces between the *Triarij*, and so they gaue the last assault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar obserued the same order and diuisions in his warres, we shal find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this *triplex Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuifi-

The manner of their imbattelling.

By triplex Acies.

diuision of the *Haslati*, *Principes* and *Triarij*, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary diuision, which is likewise threefold, the two corners and the battell, and in that sense he might say to haue made *triplicem Aciem*, let him vnderstand, that the circumstances of the diuision haue no coherence with that diuision: for, in that hee saith of the Heluētians, *sucesserunt Aciem primam*, pressed neere the first battell or Vanguard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwise, hee would haue said, *sucesserunt dextrum aut sinistrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem*: for so were the partes of that diuision termed. Again, in the retreat which the Heluētians made to the hill, when he saith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third opposed it selfe against the *Boj* and *Tulingi*, & stood ready at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the backs: It is manifest, that no other diuision can so fitly be applied to this circumstance, as that from front to backe.

But that place in the first of the Ciuill warres taketh away all scruple of controuersie, where he vseth the verie same termes of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia Acies*: for, being to incampe himselfe neere vnto Atranius, and seeing least his souldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to stand in Armes, & keepe their distance, to the end they might shroud & couer the third battell (which was imployed in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbatrelling, Cæsar obserued in most of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the very same order and discipline for imbatrelling, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the ancient names of *Haslati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, which Ramus in his *Militia Iulij Cæsaris*, vseth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are sildome vled in these Commentaries, in the sense of their first institution: for, the *Haslati*, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The *Principes*, were the lustie and able bodied men: and the *Triarij* the eldest, and best experienced. But in Cæsars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betwene the *Haslati*, *Principes* or *Triarij*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies*: and therefore, were neuer termed by those names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuiledge of a more worthy place, the said distinctions and termes were religiously obserued: for, in the battell with Petreus at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Haslato legionis quarta decima*: and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he saith, that The Eagle-bearer being grievously wounded, commended the safetie of his Ensigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort being slaine, *prater principem Priorem*. And for the *Triarij*, there is no terme more frequent in Cæsar, then *Principilus*; which name, by the rules of the ancient discipline, but to the chiefeest Centurion of the first maniple of the *Triarij*: whereby it appeareth, that the man-

Lib. 3. de bello
Ciuili.

Lib. 3. de bello
Ciuili.

ples kept the same names in regard of a necessary distinction, although peraduenture the *Haslati* were as good souldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarij*.

As touching the spaces between the maniples, whereinto the first battaile did retire it selfe if occasion vrged them, I neuer found any mention of them in Cæsar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmish the Brittaines vsed the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Campe, that Cæsar sent out two other Cohorts to succour them; who making distance betweene them as they stood, the court of guard retired it selfe in safetie, though that space into the Campe: otherwise, we neuer find that the first battell made any retreat into the allies, between the maniples of the second battell; but when it failed in a y part, the second and third went presently to second them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouistus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vse of this triple battell, what can be said more then Lipsius hath done? where he laeth open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a speculative iudgement can discern of things so far remote from the vse of this age, which neuer imitareth this triple battell, but only in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vanguard, a battell, and a reeward: but in imbatrelling, they draw these three Companies all in front, making two corners and the battell, with out any other troops to second them. But let this suffice concerning Cæsar his manner of imbatrelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the second booke, where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their small battalions.

Lib. 5. de mi-
litiâ Romana

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Macedonian Phalanx, is described by Polybius, to bee a square battell of Pikemen, consisting of sixteene in flanke, and five hundred in front; the souldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the first ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the rest, whose pikes were not seruicable, by reason of their distance from the front, couched them vpon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them in together in file, pressed forward to hold vpon the sway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and so to make the assault more violent and vnersittable.

A Phalanx
described.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and disposition in imbatrelling: for they maintained publique professors, whom they called *Tactici*, to teach & instruct their youth the practise and Art of all formes conuenient for that purpose. And these *Tactici*, found by experience, that sixteene in flanke, so ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any shock, how violent soeuer it charge vpon them: which number of sixteene, they made to consist of foure doubles: as first vntie maketh no order, for order consisteth in number & pluralitie; but vntie doubled, maketh two, the least of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled againe,

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wherefoever else, the stroke was certaine, or could hardly deceive the aime of the caster: for, in such encounters, it so galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor answer the assault with a resisting counterbuffe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie against the Pile was, to make the ranks thicke; allowing to euery souldiour a large pottine or place to stand in, that so the stroke might of it selfe fall without hurt, or by fore-sight bee prevented; as it shall plainly appeare by the sequell of this historie, which I will not omit to note, as the places shal offer themselves to the examination of this discourse.

Lib. 3. de mil-
laria Romana

But as touching the Pile, which is so often mentioned in the Romaine historie, Polybius describeth it in this maner; A Pile, saith he, is a casting weapon, the staffe whereof is almost three cubites long, and it hath *palmarum diametrum*, a hand breadth in thicknesse. The stauces were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the staffe it selfe; But in that sort, that halfe the head was fastened vp to the middle of the staffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert; and the other halfe stucke out at the end of the staffe, like a pike, containing a fingers breadth in thicknesse, and so decreasing lesse and lesse, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was so slender toward the point, that the waight of the staffe would bend it as it stucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varro noteth of *Pilum* a Pestell, *quod Hostes feriret ut pilum*. Lipsius, finding that *Palmarum diametrum*, was too great a thicknesse to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the staffe were either round or square, for they had of both sorts, and so hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing answerable to the description, given by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Lib. 5.

Patricius, in his Paralleli, maketh the staffe to haue *palmarum diametrum* in the butte end, but the rest of the staffe he maketh to decreasse taper-wise, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thicknesse of a mans finger; and so it answereth both in forme and waight to a Pestell, as may be seene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place setteth downe foure discommodities of the Pile. First, a furious and hot spirited enemy will easily prevent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and speedy close: And so wee read, that in the battell which Cæsar had with Ariouistus, the Germanes came so violently vpon them, that the souldiers cast away their piles, and be- trooke them to their swords. And likewise, in that woorthy battell betwene Cæsar and Marcus Petreius, they cast away their piles on either part. The second discommoditie was, that the piles being so heauie, could not be cast a- ny distance; but were onely seruiceable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee cast with any ayme, or as they lay, point blanke. And lastly, the souldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might easily disorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

Salust.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe last thing which I obserue in this specialitie, is, that the legio- nary souldiers had no other offensive weapon, but one pile or two at the most, and their swords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blows; for, they came alwaies so neere before they cast their pile, that they left themselves no more time then might conueniently serue them to draw their swords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, besides a large target which they caried on their left arme, suffer them to make any long pursuit, or continued chase, whensoeuer a light armed enemy did make any speedie retreat; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a Hill: the Romans follow after, and the battell is continued.

(..)



Thus was a great hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that manie of their Targets were strooke through, and tied to- gether with one fall of a pile: for, so it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reason of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they use their left hand for the defence of themselves. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a vncertaine sort) did cast away their targets, and fought naked, and unarmed. At length, fainting with wounds, they began to giue place, and retreated to a Hill a mile off.

Cæsar.

The Hill being taken, and the Legions following on to driue them frõ thence, the Boy and Tulius, to the number of fiftene thousand, being in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, setting on our men, as they were in pursuit of the rest, did charge them vpon the open side, and beganne to inclose them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiving, beganne againe to sal upon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines diuiding them- selves, turned their Ensignes two waies; the first and second Armie fought a- gainst the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that stood ready to inclose them about. And heere the fight was doubtfull and furious for a long time; untill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionario souldiers: and so one part betooke them- selves as at the first, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

D.

And

And hitherto there was not one man scene to haue turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the seauenth houre vntill the euening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Ensignes
of the Ro-
maines.

Concerning the Ensignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderstand that the chiefe Ensigne of euery Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the said Legion. The Ensigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dragon, a Woollie or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (besides the testimonie of historie) by the Colunne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Ensignes are figured, with such purtraires: so that these Ensignes, resembling the proportions of liuing creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this history, by the aspect and carrying of the Ensignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is said, that the Ensignes of the first and second battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retreat; & the Ensignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the *Boji* and *Tulingi*, which stood on the foote of the hill. By which is signified, how the legions were diuided to resist the brunt of the double encounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The diuision
of their day.

Concerning the time of the day: wee are to vnderstand, that the Romaines vsed not the same diuision of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the space betweene sunne rising and setting) into twelue equall parts, which the Astronomers called vnequall or planetarie houres. The first houre of the day beganne alwaies at sunne rising; the sixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was sunne setting. And, as the day waxed longer or shorter, so these houres were either greater or lesse: neither did they agree with equall or equinoctiall houres, such as are now vsed, but onely at the *Aequinoctium*: so that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora septima ad vesperrum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we must vnderstand, throughout this whole historie, as often as there is mention made of the circumstance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the carriages: but at length they left the field, and marched towards Langiers.

(..)



Like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the carriages, vntill it was farre in the night, the place being fortified with Cartes in fied of a Rampier: and the Enemy casting their vveapons from the vpper ground, and with darts and lancelins, vnder the vvaaggons, and from between the wheelles, did wound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our souldiers tooke their carriages and their Campe: wherein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes were taken. There were slaued out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; who marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the souldiers hurts, and the buriall of the slaine, wherein there was spent three daies, there was no pursuit made after them.

Cæsar.

Langres.

OBSERVATION.

If we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right sense of the historie shall direct our iudgement, wee shall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather superlatiue abounding in the Romaines. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the river Arar: nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæsar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for siue houres space or more, there was not one man scene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbatailing, had not the Romaines been the enemy, was vnresistable. For, being cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre surpass any other forme of imbatailing (supposing that the conueniencie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into smaller cautions. For, as in a phalanx, many particular souldiers are by a close & compact order incorporated into one entire body: so their seuerall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force: which easily swaloweth vp the ability of many other lesser quantities.

D 2.

quantities, into which a greater strength is equally diuided.

The advantage of the place which they got by retreat, & the double charge wherewith they engaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent conflict, to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their side: or at the least, so to haue steemed the swelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines so violently in the chase, that they might haue bene equall sharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whose course could not be hindered with any stops and oppositions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled resolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not so allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and cost much bloud and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that spirit and industrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

Periculis semper
ab hostibus gra-
uissimis sustinet
dignitas & inter-
dum exerci-
tus.

The ouerthrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the riuer Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the lesse to be manuell'd at, considering they had no chiefe Commaunder as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie government, require especiall care in passing ouer a water; for, then especially, an Armie is in greatest danger, when it is disordered and diuided. And therefore the Romaines atchiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Comaunder: who alwaies watched *opportunitates rei bene gerenda*, as necessary and speedy meanes to overcome in all his warres.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar, after three daies respite, followeth after the
Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and
sendeth them backe againe to the
Countrey.

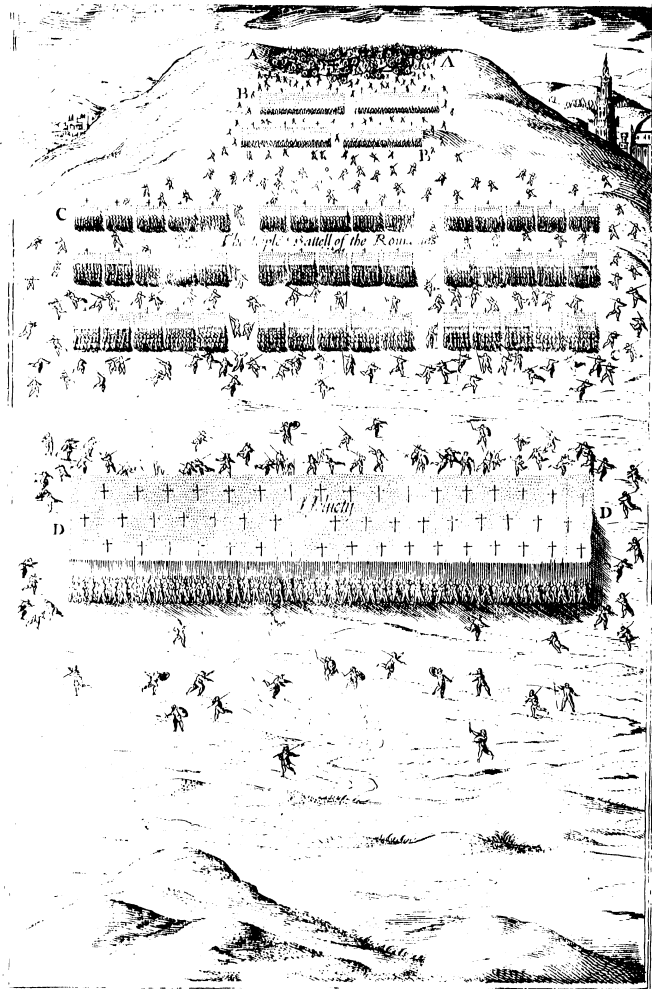
Cæsar.



Cæsar sent Letters and Messengers to the Lingones, forbidding to supply them, either with Corne, or any other thing; which if they did, hee wvould esteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himselfe, after three daies respite, followed after with all his forces. The Heluetians, pressed with the want of all necessarie prouisions, sent Commissioners vnto him, to treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the way, cast themselves at his feet; and with humble vvords and teares, desired Peace. Being commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obaied. Cæsar being come vp vnto them, required hostages, together with their Armes and seruants; as also the fugitiues that vvore fledde vnto them.

While

THE BATTLE WHICH CÆSAR HAD



WITH THE HELVETIANS.



While those things were sought out, and brought, in the night time, six thousand men or thereabouts, of the Canton, called Verbigenes, whether moved through feare of being executed, after their Armes were given up, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that amongst such a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight should not be missed, or at least would be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leave the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germaines.

Caesar, understanding through whose territories they passed, commanded them to seek them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blamelesse in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the rest, after Hostages, Armes and fugitives were given in, hee received to mercie; and commanded the Heluetians, Tulinges, and Latobriges, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And forasmuch, as having lost all their provision of Corne, there remained nothing at home to satisfie hunger, hee gave order to the Allobroges to supply them with Corne, and willed the Heluetians to redifie their Townes and Cities, that they had before destroyed & forsaken. Which he did specially for this cause; that the Germaines inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be invited with the richnesse of that soile, to seate themselves so neer neighbours to the Province of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boij, at the mediation of the Heduans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gave lands and possessions, and received them into the same liberties and immunities, as they themselves enjoyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a List, or Register, writ in Greeke, and brought to Caesar, containing by pole, the whole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like maner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolled apart by themselves. The summary whereof was, that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 thousand, the Tulinges to 36 thousand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boij to 32. Of these there were that bare Armes, 192 thousand. The rest all of all, were 368 thousand. A view being taken by Caesars appointment, of those that returned home, there were found 110 thousand.

OBSERVATION.

THe directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very sound, and of good consequence. For first, in that he commanded them to attend his coming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often removes might have caused, by the opportunity of some accident which might have happened: assuring himselfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and consequently ripen that desire of peace which they made shew of; considering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, durst not for feare of Caesars displeasure, furnish them with any necessaries in that extremitie. Touching the security, which the Romaines required, of the loyalty of such people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hostages, a sufficient number of the men

children of the chieft men of that Nation: whose lives depended vpon their Parents fidelitie, and ended with the first insipicion of their rebellion. Which custome, besides the present good, promised the like or better securitie to the next age; when as those children by conversation and acquaintance should be so affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their action might rather tend to the aduancement thereof, then any way be prejudiciall to the same. And, least the loue of libertie and freedom, should preuaile more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and instruments of their rebellion, by causing them to deliuer vp such Armes & weapons as were there present: and so to become futable to that petition of peace which they had made.

The summe of all is this; he corrected the insolencie of a furious people, and reduced them to a feeling of their owne madnesse. He kept them from sucking the possessions of many thousands, in the continent of Gallia; and sent them backe againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they first inhabited; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we see, that there is no humorio headstrong, nor lo back with strength of circumstances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the insolencie thereof, and make it subiect to correction and controulement.

CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæsars victorie:
*they call a councell, and disuer their inward
griefe, concerning Ariouistus and
his forces.*

Cæsar.

The Heluetian warre being thus ended, the Princes and chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, came to Cæsar, to congratulate the happinesse of this victorie; inasmuch as they well understood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the course of this warre reneged the iniuries vvhich beere-to fore they had done vnto them: yet neuertheless, the issue thereof did redound no lesse profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; forasmuch as the Heluetsians, left their houses and Country, abounding with all plenty and prosperitie, for no other purpose, but to invade the vvhole Country of Gallia; & to bring it in subiection to them; & and, chusing out of that large Continent, some fitt, and fruitefull place of habitation, to make the rest of the States their Tributaries: And required further, that with his good leave they might call a generall assembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, forasmuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they desired (with a common consent) to

to prefferre to his consideration. Which being graunted, and the day of meeting appointed, they bound themselves by oath, not to reueale the causes of their assembly, but to such as should be designed by common Councell.

The Parlement being broken up, the same Princes returned to Cæsar, and desired that they might in secret treat with him, of the safety of themselves, & all the rest: vvhich being granted, cast themselves in lamentable manner at his feete, contending vwith as great earnestnesse, that those things vvhich they desired, might not be reucaled, as they did to haue their petition graunted: forasmuch as they saw, that the discouerie of such declarations as they propounded, would necessarily pull vpon them most grieuous afflictions.

Dimitrius the Heduan, in the name of the rest, delivered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of the other. These two States, contending many yeeres for the principallitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germanes to take their part; of whom, at first, there passed ouer the Rhene some fiftene thousand: but afterwards, these barbarous people, hauing tasted the plentie & ciuilitie of the Galles, drew ouer many more, that now there were no lesse then one hundred & twentie thousand. With these, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought, but the successe sortea to their owne calamitie, & the vitter ouerthrowe of their Nobilitie and Senate: vwith which losses, they were so broken and decayed, that where-as beere-to fore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people of Rome, they strooke a great stroake throughout all Gallia, they were now driven to deliuer the chieft of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde themselves by oath, neuer to seeke their releafe or freedom, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to seeke meanes to free themselves from their soveraignty; onely himselfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to giue his children as hostages: for which cause he fled to Rome, and besought helpe of the Senate, being no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hostages.

But it so fell out, that the victorie became more grieuous to the Sequans then to the Heduans: for that Ariouistus, king of the Germanes, was planted in their territories: and being already posses of a third part of their Country, vvhich was the best part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for that a few months before, there were come vnto him twentie-thousand Harudes, to whom lands and possessions were to be allotted, wherely it would come to passe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles would be driven out of their dwellings, and all the Germanes would come ouer the Rhene; for, there was no comparison betwene Gallia and Germanie, either in richesse of soile or fashion of life.

Concerning Ariouistus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, near Amagetobrig, he caried himselfe very cruelly, and insolently, requiring the children of all the Nobilitie for hostages, & shewing strange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing were done, not according to his command or desire, hee would easilie threaten himselfe to be a barbarous, fierce and hasty man; whose tyrannie they could no longer indure: and vvhich there were help to be found in Cæsar and

and the people of Rome, all the Gallies must as the Heluctians did, forsake their Countrey, and seeke new houses, and seats of habitation, farre remote from the Germanies, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If these things should happily be discovered to Ariouistus, he would doubtlesse take a seuerer reuenge of all the pledges in his custodie. Cæsar might by his owne authority, or the presence of his Armie, or by the renowne of his late victory, or by the countenance of the people of Rome, keepe the Germanies from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speerch being deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were present, with much weeping besought Cæsar to giue them reliefe.

Cæsar obserued, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others were; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournfully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To which they made no reply, but stood silent, with the same countenance of sorow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demand, without gaining any word of answer; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was herein more miserable and grieuous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in secret: as hauing before their eyes the crueltie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And the rather, for that other men had safe means of flying away: but the Sequans, hauing receiued Ariouistus into their Countrey, and made him Maister of their townes, were necessarily to vndergoe all miseries.

These things being knowne, Cæsar encouraged the Gallies with good words, and promised them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his means and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And thereupon dismissed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN this relation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the discretion of such, as are willing to bee directed by other mens misaduentures. As first, into what extremities ambition doth driue her churly fauourites, by suppressing the better faculties of the soule, and setting such vnrulled motions on foote, as eary men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserued commendation in either faction, so to haue caried their emulation, that by their owne means & strength applied to the rule of good gouernment, their authoritie might wholly haue swaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in forraigne forces, to satisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a stranger a stickler in a quarrell which ciuill dissension hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance vpon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Lastly, the often discontent of these

these States show the force of a present euill, which possesseth so vehemencie the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to come, how great soeuer, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present grieve inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a sauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselves vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vttering crueltie of the Germanies. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Countrey, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affecti- ons, and so it preuaileth at the seat of our iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that moued Cæsar to vndertake this warre.



Any were the inducements which moued him to take that businesse to hart; As first, that the Heduan, who were oftentimes stiled by the Senate with the title of Brethren, Cousins and Allies, were in the seruitude and thralldome of the Germanies, and that their hostages were with Ariouistus and the Sequans: which in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale: as also, for that hee saw it very dangerous for the Roman Empire, that the Germanies should accustome, by little and little, to reske in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restrain such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teuton: had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; being diuided from the Prouince but with the riuier Rhone.

These things he thought fitt with all speede to prevent: and the rather, for that Ariouistus was growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For which respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadors vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for that he had to treat with him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

OBSERVATIONS.



May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; considering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leaue of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did

The authoritie of the Roman Generals.

Cæsar.

did vndertake a warre of that consequence, and put in leoparchie the Legions, the Province, or what other interest the Romans had in Gallia.

Wherein we are to vnderstand, that when the State of Rome did allotte the government of any Province to a Proconsull, they did likewise recommend vnto him, the carefull managing of such accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, considering that such causes as may trouble a well ordered government, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and bred within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to small purpose, to haue giuen him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of who'lome government at home; and no means to take away such oppositions, which forraigne accident might let vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar vnderooke the Heluetian warre, in regard of the safetie of the Province: and this againe with Ariouistus, least the Germans should so multiply in Gallia, that the Province it selfe might at length bee endangered. Neither had their Generals authoritie onely to vnderstand these warres: but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulaie, compound, or what els they thought convenient for the aduancement of the Common-weale, did wholly rest vpon their direction; *repub. bene gesta*, beeing the stile of the warrant for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerfull in the course of businesse, as that which absolutely commaundeth without controulement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of time and occasion, further then either prescription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whensoever the Romaine affaires were distressed, and driuen to an exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam potestatem*, such an absolute commaund, that whatsoever power rested either in the Consuls, or in the Tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatesse of that Magistrate; that these might bee no let or retarding power to weaken that course, which nothing but an absolute commaund could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute government, they attributed such power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted vpon dissolute and vnsortunate Leaders, they seemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumspect & soeuer, could promise more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre forth as his meanes and industry could achieve it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the life of his gallant sonne, and opposing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquitie, saith: *Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem unquam atrocioram fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent, quam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite antiquisum ob rem male gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse.* The people, saith he, in whom the soueraigne power of things consisteth, neuer shewed greater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or vnskilfulnesse, then imposing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a General in question for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day.

The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwise

Lucius lib. 3.

in

in regard of Militarie discipline: for, prescription guided them in all their seruices, and the chiefe part of their dutie was obedience; although they law euident reason to the contrarie, and found their directions vnperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæsar saith vpon that occasion: *Alia sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad præscriptum, alter libere ad summam rem consulere debet.* The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, differeth from that of a General: the one doing all things by prescription; & the other freely deliberating of whatsoever may concerne the cause. And this course the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals.

Lib. 3. de bello Ciuili.

CHAP. XIII.

Ariouistus his answer: a second Embassage, with the succeſſe thereof.

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That Embassage, Ariouistus answered; That if his occasions had required Cæsars assistance, he would haue furthered them with his owne presence: and hee thought it as reasonable, that if it were in his meanes to pleasure the Romans, Cæsar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durst not come into those parts of Gallia which Cæsar possessed, without an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he most wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæsar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, which the law of Armes had made his inheritance.

Cæsar.

Vpon the returne of this answer, Cæsar framed a second Embassage; the purport whereof was: Forasmuch as he thus requited the honour wherewith the people of Rome had beautified his best dignity (for, in Cæsars Consulship, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchsafed to clesme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend vnto their State) & that hee disdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the cõmon good; let him knowe, that these were the things that hee required to be performed by him: First, that hee should not suffer any more troopes of Germanes to be transported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondly, that he should deliuer vp those Hostages which hee had of the Heduauns and Sequans; & should cease to molest them further with war or other iniuries. These things if he did performe, Cæsar would assure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwise, forasmuch as in the Consulships of M. Messala, and L. Piso, the Senate had decreed, That he that should obtaine the government of the Province, should as nere as it would stand with the good of the Common-weale, indeauour the defence of their Associates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the iniuries done vnto the Heduauns.

To these Mandates, Ariouistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongst

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amongst all Nations; That a Conquerour might governe a subdued people, according as he thought best for his owne safetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the course of their government, by another mans prescript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Heduns, having tried the fortune of vovare, were by right become his Stipendiaries; wherein Cæsar offered great wrong, for that his coming thither, had made their tribute much lesse unto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retain them. Neither would hee make any unisist warre upon any of their Associates, if they observed the Articles of agreement, and paid their yearly tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romanes would come too late to their succour. If Cæsar would needs undertake their quarrell, it was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Ariouistus, but to his owne destruction. Try when he would, he should find what valour consisted in the Germanes, that for fouretecn yeeres space, were neuer covered with other roofe then the Heuans.

OBSERVATION.



And thus farre proceeded Cæsar with Ariouistus, in debating the wrongs and grieuances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to morall ciuillitie, in tearmes of mildnesse and pleasing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainnesse of the project, then fured with words fite for persuasion. For, that which Ariouistus alleadged, to make good his interest in Gallia, was as consonant to reason, as any thing to the contrary vrged by Cæsar.

But as the Lacedemonian said of one, That hee spake the truth otherwise then it should be spoken: so it may be said of Ariouistus answere, that it wanted that sweetening humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it selfe; forasmuch as it proceedeth from a well tempered spirit, wherein no turbulent passion seemeth to cuttroll the force of reason, nor hinder the sentence of true iudgement; but rather, lessoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth courtly comaine of open wrong, and strengthen her assertions with a pleasing deliuerie. And therefore, how great focus the controuersie be, that partie which exceedeth not the boundes of modestie, but maketh mildnesse his chiefest advocate, will so preuaile in any audiotie, that albeit equitie doth disallow her title; yet the manner of his carriage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he voucheth the sequels of innocence, to proue his interest in that which he demandeth. But to leaue this circumstance, as only to be noted, let vs proceed to the vvarre it selfe, which I made the second part of this historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Treuiri bring newes of one hundred towneships of the Sueni, that were come to the Rhene. Cæsar taketh in Besançon; his souldiers are surpris'd with an extreme feare of the Germanes.



At the same time, as this answere was returned to Cæsar, there came likewise Embassadors from the Heduns and Treuirs. The Heduns complained, that the Harudes lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Ariouistus, without giuing of Hostages for their allegiance. The Treuirs brought newes of one hundred towneships of the Sueni, that were come to the river Rhene, to seeke a passage into Gallia, conducted by Nasua and Cimberius, two bretheren. Whereat, Cæsar being exceedingly moued, thought his best meanes of prevention to consist in celeritie, least the difficulty of resisting should growe greater, when those new forces of the Sueni, were ioyned with the power which was already with Ariouistus. And therefore, having provided Corne, hee made haste to seeke the Germanes. And having gone three daies iourney on his way, he had intelligence, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was gone to take in Besançon, the greatest towne of the Sequans; and that hee was three daies iourney on his way already.

Cæsar, knowing how much it importeth him to prevent that disadvantage (forasmuch as the Towne abounded with all necessarie provisions for vvarre, and was so sited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleasure: being incircled with the river Alduabiz; excepting a small space of fixe hundred foote, which was fortified with an exceeding high Hill, the foote whereof did at each end ioine vnto the River, and the Hill strengthened with a wall, and so ioyned to the towne) made all the haste hee could to take the prouision of Corne, and other necessities, the Romanes inquiring of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germanes; vnderstood that they were men of a huge stature, of courage inuincible, and of great practise and experience in feates of Armes; whereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: For, when they encountered them, they were not able to indure so much as the fiercenesse of their countenance, or the fiercenesse of their looks. The whole Armie concerned such a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne first amongst the Tribunes and Commanders of horse, and such others as for friendship sake followed Cæsar from Rome, & had small or no skill in matter of vvar. These men, finding some one excuse, & some another, of very earnest business, which called the home, desired leaue to depart. Some others, who shame would not suffer to forsake the Campe, becwised the like

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passion in their countenances & hauiour: for, biding themselves in their Tents, they either bewailed their desamie secretly to thēselues, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; so that throughout the whole Campe, there was nothing but making and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and fearefulness of these men, the old souldiers and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wherewith the rest were amazed: and those that would seeme to be lesse fearefull, said, they feared not the enemy, but the narrownesse of the waies, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were betweene them and Ariouistus; or otherwise they cast doubts vpon where they might haue prouision of Corne. And many stuck not to tell Cæsar, that vpon soeuer he should giue commandement to march forward, or aduance the Standarts, the souldiers would refuse to doe it.

OBSERVATION.

WHerein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth vially breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to insit vpon the qualitie of the accident, and to gather such breefe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amazement of horrou, and mitigate the frensie of so violent a passion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promise any such learning, as may discouer the true meanes and secret motions, whereby a sore conceiued feare doth trouble the senses, and astonish the mind; yet such the history offereth it to our scanning, giue me leave onely to note the strangenesse of the circumstance, and rudely to delineate the purtrature of a heath oltenere scene then wel knowe, vsing the vnwiellie pile for my penfile, and suting my speech to a warlike auditorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the sense receiue intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either dispossesse the soule of this earthly mansion, or trouble the quiet wherein shee resteth; the spirits (as it seemeth) by the direction of their soueraigne Mistresse, retire themselves into the inner cabinets and secrete pauillions of the body, where the chiefe part of the soule is most resident: & so they leaue the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and vnqwarizoned, the better to strengthen that capitall Citie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, butto the utter ruine and destruction of the whole bodie. For, feare is not onelie a perturbation of the soule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of some euill to come: but it is also a contraction, and closing vp of the hart, when the blood and the spirits are recalled from the outward partes, to assist that place which giueth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and confusion of humours and spirits, when the multiplictie of faculties (which otherwise require an ordinate distinction in their seruice, and by the order of nature, should bee disposed into seuerall instruments, and be dilated throughout the

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body) are thus blended confusedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which presently rise from these aduertisements, are suddenly choaked with the disordered mixture of so many seuerall properties, and are stifled as it were in the throng, before they can be transported to our iudgement, or examined by reason, for want of that ordinate vniformitie of place which nature requirith in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazednesse and astonishment, which so daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this passion, that becauise the soule giueth no counsell, the body can afford no motion, but standeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benumbed in sense, and forsaken of the spirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was stricken with such an excessive feare, that hee could not betake himselfe to flight (*Adeo paucis auxilia formidat*) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders shaking him by the shoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep sleep, threatened him with present death, if he would not prevent the ruine of the Empire, by vsing that meanes which was onely left for his safetie.

Againe, it in that turbulent confilitory, the spirits chance distinctly to receiue any apprehension proceeding from the forging facultie of the soule, they carie it presently to execution, before it be examined by reason, and follow the action with such vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reknowledge. And this is the cause, that oftentimes through extremitie of feare, to auoid one euill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vse to auoid a lesse; becauise reason did not first trie the apprehension, before it was deliuered to external Agents. And so we find in the battell betweene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two grosse troopes of souldiers were driuen into such an extasie of feare, that taking contrarie courses to auoid one and the same danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduised by each others flight, that the places which they fought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reason be called to counsell, whe a parlee is summoned of composition, yet it beareth so small a sway in the consultation, that the will of it selfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and so to purchase peace, with the losse of the soules chiefe treasure: which ought euer to bee estimated at a higher rate, then any other happinesse which can beide the mind. For among all the sensible things of this world, there is no creature that hath such a confused feare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is: neither is there any miserie greater, or any bondage more shamefull, seruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeeme the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth shame follow after so base a part, and aggravate the burthen of the sinne with losse of disgrace, and penitent discontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuoufer then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yieldeth to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it selfe vpon it selfe, & bringeth more perrill then the first danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: so, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as envie, hatred, & anger, rise oftentimes of loue, so is ioy lessened with grieffe, envie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, forasmuch as all such perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconsideratione, whereby we thinke that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs consider what disposition of our iudgement, be it moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the passages, whereby the soule receiue her aduertisements, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefest whereof are the eye and the eare: so are their auios different in qualitie, and require a severall consideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which cometh by the way of hearing; forasmuch as the eye is a witness it selfe of euery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceived in her proper object: and therefore, the iudgement is not much troubled, to determine definitiue how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner be not deceived in her proper object; for it faithfully giueth vp that sense, which sound hath deliuered vnto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to coine her vaine conceptions, in regard of the absence of the action, it is necessarie, that the discoursing facultie, be called for an assistant, before the iudgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies aunswere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not stick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselves are tuned. And therefore, this first cometh to be considered of in all such violent commotions, by which of these two senses the first intelligence was receiued. But concerning the iudgement it selfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the soule. And againe, the purer the iudgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further interested therein, then to hold a resolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falsehood, good or euill that is in things.

To redresse this inconuenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to her former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a viturping passion, which had so troubled the gouernment of the soule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warinesse, but not to choake valour with beastly cowardice: for, these Oratorie inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their disciplines considering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (being the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to those actions, which the feritie of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must winne the soules consent: according to that saying, *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar his speech to the Armie, concerning
this feare.

Cæsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of warre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders soeuer, vnto the same: And, being thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitive, as to imagine to himselfe, whether, and vpon what service they were caried. Concerning Ariouistus, he had in the time of Cæsar's Conquest of Iulippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome: and why then should any man misdeeme, that he should so vnadvisedly goe back from his dutie? For his owne part, he was verily perswaded, that if Ariouistus once knew his demands, & vnderstood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reiect his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so made, as to make warre vpon them, why should they feare him? or why should they despaire, either of their own prowess, or of Cæsar's diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enimie that they were to incounter, had bene tried what he could doe twice before; first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Tentoni were vanquished by Marius, at what time the Army merited no lesse honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondsmen; who were not a little furthered through the practise and discipline they had learned of the Romans. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant & resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, being naked and unarmed, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerers withall) they nobly overcame. And to be short, these were no other Germanes, then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but also euery at home at their own doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man were moued at the sight and overthrowe of the Galles, vpon inquirie he should find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Ariouistus had for many monthes together kept himselfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly set vpon them as they were dispersed, and so overcame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place against sauage and vnskillfull people, yet was not Ariouistus so simple, as to thinke that hee could insuare our Armies with the like subtilties. As for those that feared the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of prouision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generalls, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had undertooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe euery where in the fields: and what the waies were, should shortly be scene.

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Where-as it was given out, that the souldiers would not obey his mandates, nor aduance their standarts, he little valued it; for, he was well assured, that if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be vnsfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for that he was notoriously convicted of Avarice: but the vvhole course of his life, should witnesse his innocencie; and the ouerthrowe of the Heluetians, his happinesse. And therefore, that which he was minded to haue put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would dislodge frõ thence: that without further delay, he might vnderstand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, would preuaile more vwith them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspition, and would take them as a guard to his person. Cæsar had chiefly fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it bredde in euery one a great alacrity and desire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to giue him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; assuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre. And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions of the first Orders, to giue Cæsar satisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gaue any censure of the issue of that warre, but alwaies left it to the wisdom of the Generall.

Their satisfaction being taken, and a view being made of the waies by Dinitiacus (whom of all the Gallies, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compass of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaigne Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie instructions, which deserue examination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinarie number admitted to the Council; *Omnium ordinum adit concilium adhibitis Centurionibus*: Where-as there were vually no more admitted to their counsell of warre, but the Legates, Quæstor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I vnderstand to be the first *Hastate*, the first *Princeps*, and the first *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifestly prouoed out of the first Commentarie, where Cicero was besieged by Ambiotix: in which, amongst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulso, and Varenus; betwene whom, there was euery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: *Et iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, saith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He first motiue which he vseth to recall their exiled iudgement, discovered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie gouernment, they had presumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what seruice they were cæmmed; which in the rigour of Camp-police, could not passe without due punishment: for, what can more contradict the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to suffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit? or weighed in the balance of such false iudgments? especially, when those weak Censors are to be Actors, and Excutioners of the desiggn: for, then, euery man will sute the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindness, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehension of profit, or disadvantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better president then Nature hath prescribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of absolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discern the things they look vpon; but yield themselves to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: so ought a multitude to submit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Capitaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the loss of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publike good. For, if euery man should prescribe; who should obay? *Tam ne ferre quædam milites, quàm scire oportet*, saith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder: and againe, *Parenda potius quam imperia ducum ciscitando, res militares continentur*. Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a soldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consisteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



IN the reason which he vseth to proue their disparitie of valour, in regard of the Romans, being superiour to the Heluetians, that had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee strenghteneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and saith, that the Heluetians had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluetians dwell themselves, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enemy were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vnkowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, surnamed Africanus, when they late in counsell how to ridde their Country of that subtle Carthaginian, that for sixtene yeeres space, had fiered like a canker the beautie of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, sacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrowne their Armies, slaine their Consuls, and threatened their imperiall Citie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africa,

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trick, though it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they attempted other mens possessions: when peace was established in Italy, then let war be set on foote in Africk; and first let them be without feare themselves, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemy. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hanniball, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a forer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdom.

Scipio, on the other side, caried on with the honour of so glorious an enterprise, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authority: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusan king, being a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginian from Cicily, by transporting his forces into Africk: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppressor, could there bee a present example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betwene the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne native Country wasted with sword and destruction: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsi.* For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdom, easily discovereth both the aduantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-vpon he relyeth. And amongst the variable euents of war, many vnexpected occasions arise, which present victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances so alter the course of things, that no foresight can discern what may happen.

With these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & worthy Capitaines, whose minds (as it seemed) were intangled with such particular affections for the present, as might rather draw them to wrest reason to their owne humour, then to determine in sinceritie of iudgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrariety of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or disadvantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely set down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rise in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimony of an vnfallible truth being grounded vpon the propertie of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victorie, and hope conceiveth such spirits as usually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becometh hardie and resolute in victorie: so on the other side, disadvantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controlleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield vpon their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but dilidencie and irresolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that setteth vpon an enemy in a strange country, and to preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giueth life vnto action, and stealeth his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leauing when he list, and proce-

proceeding as farre forth as hee shall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the strife & controuersie is not for his native Country, which he quietly enioyeth, & is referred at all times to entertaine him, howsoever Fortune shall fauour his designs: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirsteth after, wherein, forasmuch as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, besides the honour which is achieved thereby, euery mans valour soareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increased, without any trouble or disturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince shall be assaulted in his owne kingdom, and in the sight of his subjects haue his land consumed with ruine and destruction; the danger will so disturbe the powers of the soule, that through the turbulent disorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will lose their prerogatiue of aduising how the enemy may be best resisted; when as euery man shall apprehend the terror of the danger, and few or none conceiue the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the presence of such things as are dearest to his soule, as the pietie and respect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are sufficient to raise valour to the highest point of resolution; yet the motives are of such weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as vn sufficient to maintaine so great a cause, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: forasmuch as the terror and feare of so great a danger, will present a greater measure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them ioy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that seeketh to maintaine that estate which he hath in possession by force of Armes; and another, that seeketh to increase his meanes by valour. For, the former is presented with the danger of losing all his estate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the aduantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaseth his valour, without any losse or disadvantage, if hee chance to be put to the worst. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betwene him that hath already lost his goods, and is by that meanes become desperate, hauing nothing further to lose; and another, that yet keepeth his substance, but is in danger to lose it: for, feare will so dismay his mind, that he will rather distrust his owne abilities, then entertaine a resolution of valour.

To proue this, wee neede not seeke other examples, then those imperiall Cities, in whose cause this controuersie was first mooued. For, when Hanniball was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Consull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into such an extasie of terror, that they believed verily, that the enemy was then coming to assault the City; neither had they any hope or aide in themselves, to keep or defend the same. On the other side, Scipio was no sooner landed in Africk, but there was such a tumult in Carthage, as though the Citie had bene already taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Armie in Italie had confirmed for sixteen yeeres together, preuaile in the apprehension of so immi-

ment a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens possessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all speed they sent for Hanniball out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be considered) I take it much better for a Prince to invade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdom.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.



He last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peradventure as faultie as any other: wherein he shewed great Art and singular Wildom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conscience, and vpbraid with the reproache of men, can hardly be persuaded that his fault can be purged with any satisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; but still remaineth, to cast dishonour vpon the offender, and to accuse him of disloyaltie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an error beeing once rashly committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grievous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere scelus laudum est*; or maintaineth his error by wilfull obstinacie: as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Cave, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so base a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus expresse, *ingrediendo catus, exiendo protervus*. This did Cæsar wisely prevent, by cleering the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inasmuch as they were witnesses to themselves of a common error: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, resolved to shew as great alacrity in the sequel of the warre, and to deserve more then the iudgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellows.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.

Cæsar.



On the seventh day, as hee continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was within twentie foure miles of that place: who as soone as hee vnderstood of Cæsars coming, sent Embassadors vnto him: Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some what neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content

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tent to admit of a parlee. Cæsar refused not the offer; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, what he had formerly denied at Cæsars request: and thereby was in good hope, that vnderstanding what was required, he would in the end, consider of the many fauours he had receiued from the people of Rome, and desist from such wilful courses.

The first day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betweene them. Ariouistus required, that Cæsar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumvented by treacherie; and therefore thought fitt, that either partie should come onely with their Cavalrie: otherwise he would not giue meeting.

Cæsar, not willing to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himselfe in trust to the French horse, thought it most conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) vpon their horses: that if he stood in need, he might haue a faithfull guard of his friends about him. Where vpon, one of the souldiers said prettily, that Cæsar had doone more for them then he had promised: for, hee had said before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now hee had inrolled them all for horsemen.

There was a great and open Plaine, and in the miditt thereof a rising Mount, which was almost in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes: and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion which Cæsar had brought with him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred paces from the said Mount: and likewise the horsemen of Ariouistus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horseback, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Cæsar beganne his speech with a commemoration of the fauours and benefices the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee was by their authoritie, intitaled by the name of a King and a Friend: & ther vpon, had receiued great gifts. Which fauour sell but vnto a few; and was by the Romaines giuen onely to men of great desert: Whereas hee, without anie occasion of access vnto them, or other iust cause on his behalfe, had obtained these honours, through his curtesie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee shewed him further, what ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them so firme to the Hednans: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Hednans had held the principalltie of Gallia; and that, long before they were in amitie with the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies his custome, not onely to inleauour that their Allies and Confederates should not lose any thing of their proper; but also, that they might increase in dignitie and reputation: and therefore, who could indure to see that forced from them, which they quietly possessed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of such things, which hee had formerly giuen in charge to his Embassadors; that hee should not make warre, either vpon the Hednans or their Associates. That he should restore their hostages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germanes backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet he should forbear to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus

Ariovistus made little answer to *Cæsars* demands, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come over the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the *Galles*; that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in *Gallia*, were given him by themselves; their hostages were voluntarily delivered unto him; he took tribute by the law of *Armes*, which was such, as Conquerours might lay upon the vanquished; he made no war upon the *Galles*, but the *Galles* made warre upon him: All the States of *Gallia* came to fight against him, and had put themselves into the field; whose forces were in one battell all dispersed and overthrowne. If they were desirous to make another trial, he was ready to undertake them: but if they would have peace, it overcame an injury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid untill that time. He expected that the Amities of the people of *Rome*, should be rather an honor and a safety, then a losse unto him, and that he had sought it to that end; but if by their meanes, the tribute due unto him should be retracted, hee would as willingly refuse their friendship as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germans into *Gallia*, it was rather for his own defence, then of any purpose to subdue the Country; as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but upon intreatie, & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in *Gallia* before the *Romaines* came thither; neither had the people of *Rome* before that time, carried their Army beyond the bounds of their Province: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Province of *Gallia*, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to command in our quarters; so it was not fitting, that they should disturb his government.

In that hee alledged, the *Heduns* were by decree of Senate adopted into the amities of the people of *Rome*; he was not so barbarous, or unacquainted with the course of things, as to be ignorant, that in the last warre of the *Allobroges*, they were aiding and assisting to the *Romaines*; and in the quarrell the *Heduns* had with the *Sequans*, the *Romans* were in like manner assisting unto them. Whereupon hee had good occasion to suspect, that *Cæsar*, under pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in *Gallia* for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to slay him, hee should performe a very acceptable service to many noble & cheefe men of *Rome*: as he had well understood by Letters and Messengers hee had received from them, whose favour and amity hee should purchase, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leave him the free possession of *Gallia*, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what warre sooner hee desired to be undertaken, should be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were spoken by *Cæsar*, to shew why he could not desist from that course; for neither was it his use, nor the custome of the people of *Rome*, to forsake their well-deserving Associates: neither could he think, that *Gallia* did rather belong to *Ariovistus* then the *Romans*. The *Aruerni* and *Rutenes*, were in due course of war subdued by *L. Fabius Maximus*: who the people of *Rome* had pardoned, and not reduced to a Province, or made them stipendiaries. And if an-

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tiquitie were looked into, the people of *Rome* had good claime to that Country: but, so far as much as the intention and will of the Senate was, they should remaine a free people, they were suffered to be governed by their owne lawes, and left unto themselves, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of *Armes*.

Whilst these things were treated of in parlee, it was told *Cæsar*, that *Ariovistus* his horsemen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that assailing our men, they assaulted them with stones and other weapons: whereupon he brake off, and betooke himselfe to his Party, commanding them not to cast a weapon at the enemy. For albeit hee well perceived, hee might without perill of that cleist legion, give battell to his Canallry; yet he thought fit to refrain, least it should be said, hee had intrapped them with a parlee contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar souldiours, how arrogantly *Ariovistus* had caried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the *Romaines* to frequent any part of *Gallia*, and that their Canallry had assaulted our men, and that thereupon the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed with a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, *Ariovistus* sent Messengers to *Cæsar*, signifying, that he desired to treat with him, concerning these things which were left unperfit, & thereupon willed him to appoint another day of meeting, or if hee liked not that, to send some unto him with authority, to conclude of such things as should be found expedient. *Cæsar* was unwilling to give any further meeting: & the rather, for that the day before, the Germanes could not be restrained from violence, & force of *Armes*: Neither did hee think hee might safely expose the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send unto him *M. Valerius Proculus* the sonne of *C. Valerius Caburnius*, a vertuous young man, & well bred, whose father was made free of *Rome* by *C. Valer. Flaccus*: which hee did, the rather in regard of his singular integrity, & his perfectness in the French tongue, which *Ariovistus* through long continuance had learned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he sent *M. Titius*, that was familiarly acquainted with *Ariovistus* with instruction to heare what was said, and to make report thereof to *Cæsar*. Whom, as soone as *Ariovistus* saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demanding wherfore they came thither? and whether they were not sent as Spies? And as they were about to make answer, hee cutte them off, and commanded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remoued his Campe, and lodged himselfe under a hill, sixe miles from *Cæsar*. The next day, he brought his forces along by *Cæsars* Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond him; of purpose to cut off all such coine and convoies, as should be sent to the *Romaines* by the *Heduns* and *Sequans*. From that day forward, by the space of five daies together, *Cæsar* imbastelled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if *Ariovistus* had a mind to give battell, hee might doe it when he would. But *Ariovistus* all this while, kept his Army within his Campe, and daile sent out his horsemen to skirmish with the *Romaines*.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germans had practised: there were 6000 horsemen, & many strong and nimble footmen, whom the horsemen had

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selected out of the vvhole host, every man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand with them in battell, and vnto these they resorted for succour. If the horsemen were ouer-charged, these euer slept in to helpe them. If any one were wounded or vnhorsed, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to aduance forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their swiftnesse was such (through continuall exercise) that hanging on the horse-mane by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

OBSERVATION.

Footmen inter-
mixed amongst
horsemen.

IT may seeme strange vnto the fouldiours of our time, that the footmen should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disaduantage to themselves; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succour the horsemen in any danger, or annoy the enemy: and therefore some haue imagined, that these footmen in the encounter, cast themselves into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, assisted the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly euince that these footmen were mingled indifferently amongst the horsemen, to assist every particular man, as his fortune and occasion required: and therefore, the choise of these footmen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose seruice they were to be imployed; that every man might take his friend, in whom he reposed greatest confidence. VVhen they were ouercharged, these slept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhorsed, he had his footman ready to assist him: and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddenly to retire vpon aduantage, they staid themselves vpon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & so ran as fast as the horsemen could go. Which seruices, they could not possibly haue performed, without confusion & disorder, if the footmen had not feuerally attended vpon them, according to the affection specified in their particular election.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germanes, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen vpon any necessitie, not so much regarding their seruice vpon the enemy, as the assistance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practised the same Arte, to a more effectuall purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to resist, but to defeat far greater troopes of horse, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuius, in the second Punicke warre, at the siege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fulvius the Consul: where it is said, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; for their caualrie was alwaies put to the worst: & therefore they inuented this meanes, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choicest young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apeece in stead of their other weapons: these fouldiers practiced to ride behind the horse-

men.

men, and speeciall to light from the horses at a watch-word giuen, and so to charge the Enemy on horse. And when by exercise they were made so expert, that the nouelty of the inuention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to encounter with the enemy, every man carrying his foot fouldiour behind him; who at the encounter suddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with such a furie, that they followed them in slaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, saith Liuius, grew the first institution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nanius, a Centurion, and was honourable rewarded by Fulvius the Consul, for the same.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurth, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualtie of the associates, *ut quacunq; innaderent equitatus hostium pro-pulsarent*. The like practice was vsed by Cæsar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Civil war; saying that in stead of the Velites, he mingled with his horsemen, 400 of the lustiest of his legionarie fouldiers, to resist the caualtie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the riuer Genulium, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachiū: *qui tantum proficere*, saith the text; *¶ Eques tri praelio commisso, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipsique incolumes ad agmen se reciperent*. Many other places might be recited: but these are sufficient to proue, that the greatest Capitaines of ancient times, strengthened their caualrie with footmen dispersed amongst them. The Romaine horsemen, saith Polybius, at the first, caried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vied the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong lance or staffe, and three or foure darts in a quiver, with a buckler, and a long sword by their right side. The vse of their lance was most effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meanes to intermingle foot-men: but when they vsed their darts, every man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carabines for the most part do, & so the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the foot-men to serue among them. But, howsoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meanes to defeat their horse, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuius, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for seruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to shew the same effect against strangers, and Numidian horsemen.

In the Consulships of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines reserved two thousand of their men to giue a fresh assault vpon the left Corner of the Romaines, as they were in conflict; which tooke such effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Corner were forced to retreat. VVhich the Romaine horsemen (being in number six hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

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Lib. 3. de
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enemy; they presently forooke their horses, and made halle to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselves so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke themselves againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chace as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with; and vsed the same Arte as the Germanes did, mingling among their light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legiois Equitatus & lenis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa & deiecit a se de colle.* And, as they sometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the reterward of the Armie, according to the manner of the Numidian fight; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veteranis se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infelices coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad unum terga vertebant.* So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the reterward, and placed his legions there, *ita vim hostium per legionarium militem commodius sustinebat.* And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatu Labienus immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissimè contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire ceperunt.* I allage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falsifying, or wrelling any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefly the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistable weapon) and the terror of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed foomen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Cavalrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Baliste, Catapulta* and *Tolonomes*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine: so what force focuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmnesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoveable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it taketh more or lesse strength, according to the violence which it performeth: as hee that lieth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heavier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heavier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by making two Campes.



When Cæsar perceived that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peraduenture he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuies of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germanes aboad; about six hundred pases from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells, commanded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand and foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenchment. Notwithstanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: which beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other foure legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemy: but perceiving that Ariouistus would not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuaind his Armie into their severall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus sent part of his forces to assault the lesser Campe. The encounter continued very sharp on both parts, untill the evening; and at sunne-setting, after many wounds giuen and taken, Ariouistus conuaind his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæsar made inquirie of the Captiues, what the reason was that Ariouistus refused battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germanes had a custome, that the women should by casting of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germanes could not get the victorie, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

First, we may obserue what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans obserued, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it afforded their owne troops, it serued for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themselves, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other aduantages, all auerring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendi esse hostes.*

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Cæsar.

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commanders of such forces as serue the States, in the vniuersall Prouinces of Belgia: whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine the vse of the spade, & to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatsoever, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Amnes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the second place wee may obserue, that there was no Nation so barbarous (for, I vnderstand the Germaines to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, being in a Climate so neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vse in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally inthrall'd; and forge prophesies and diuinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might best serue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæsar let slippe the occasion of making vse of this their religion: for, vnderstanding by their prisoners, that their diuinations forbade them to fight before the new Moone, he vsed all the means he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of mischicuing, might preiudice their resolution to returne Conquerors. Which may serue to prooue, that a superstitious people are subiect to many inconueniencies, which industry or Fortune may discouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, being Generall of some forces, which Ferdinando king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obserued how the Ilanders worshipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipse that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnlesse they would furnish him with such necessities as he wanted for the time, the wrath of their God should quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright shining face into obliuiscence and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, strooken with a superstitious feare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might assaile their enemies, to depopulate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to giue them battell,
and the Germans dispose themselves
thereunto.



He next day, Cæsar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie souldiers was small, in respect of the multitude of the Germaines, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew, before the lesser Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then at length, were the Germaines constrained to bring out their power, setting euery Tribe and people by themselves, in like distance and order of battell (as the Harudes, Marcomans, Tribocci, Vangiones, Remetes, Sedusijs and Sueuians) and inuironing their whole Army with Cartes and eariage, that there might be no hope at all left to save any man by flight. And in these they placed their women, that they by their out-stretched hands and teares, mouing pittie, might implore the souldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliuer them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, assigned to euery legion a Legat and a Questor, that euery man might haue an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell with the right Cornet, forasmuch as he perceived that part of Ariouistus Army to be the weakest.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, euen from the infancy of their state, were ever zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desir'd to behold with the eye, to what measure of vertue euery man had attained; that the tongue with greater seruencie of spirit, might sound out the celebration of *Milde virtues*, which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisdom; considering that the most precious things that are, lole much much of their worth, if they be not sured with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeth much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselves without such assistance. For, how small is the beaustie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleasing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all these, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprint in the diuersitie

litie of creatures concurring to perfection, and especially in morall actions, in whose carriage there is a far greater exactnesse of correspondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requisite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæsar in all his battels; amongst the rest, that at Aleſia is particularely noted in this manner, *Quod in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque recitaretur turpiter factum celari poterat, utroque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominie ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Liutic would expresse how valiantly an action was caried, hee saith no more but in *conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur*: which is as much to say, that forasmuch as the Romaines were diligent obseruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; euery man bent his whole indeauour to deserue the good opinion of his Generall, by discharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfullnesse of spirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the first was called *Acies recta*, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduanced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a straight front; and this was their most visuell manner of im-

battailing.

The second forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the cornets was aduanced neerer vnto the enemy then the rest, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right cornet: for the right cornet of an Army had great aduantage against the left of the enemies, in regard of their vveapons and furniture. But Cæsar did it in this place, because he perceived that the enemy was weakest in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakest part of an enemy, is in the beginning to be charged with the strength of an Armie: for, so fauourable are mens iudgements to that which is already happened, that the sequell of euery action, dependeth for the most part vpon the beginning. *Dimidiū facti qui bene capit habet*, saith a Poet: and not without great reason, so forcible continually is the beginning, and so connexed to the sequell by the nature of a precedent cause, that the end must needs erre from the common course, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes disastrous & vn-luckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foresee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooued him with the best of his Army to assault the weakest part of the enemy.

The third forme of the front, is called *Sinusta*, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell standeth backward off from the enemy, after the fashion of a halfe moone. Scipio vsed it in Spaine, hauing obserued some

daies

daies before, that the enemy continually so disposed of the battell, that his best souldiers were alwaies in the midst; and therefore Scipio put all his old souldiours in the cornets, and brought them out first to charge vpon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the controuerſie, before the other that were in the midst could come to fight.

The last forme is called *gibbosa*, or *gibbera Acies*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two cornets lag behind. This forme did Haniball vse in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two cornets with the best of his souldiers, and placed his weakest in the middest, that the Romaines following the retreat of the battell, which was easily repeld, might bee inclosed on each side with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.



he signe of the battell being therevpon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other side, returned so speedily a counterbuss, that the legions had no time to cast their pikes, and in that regard, made haste to betake themselves to their swords: But the Germanes, according to their manner, putting themselves into a Phalanx, receiued the force of their swords. In the battell, there were many legionary souldiours seene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull vp with their hands, the targets that couered it, and so to wound and kill those that were underneath: and so the left Cornet of the enemy was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

Now, while the right Cornet was thus busied, the left Cornet was ouercharged with an vnequall multitude of the Germanes: which young Crassus the Generall of the horse no sooner perceived (hauing more scope and libertie then any of the Commanders that were in the battell) hee sent terentian Acium, the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellows that were in danger; by means whereof, the fight was renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, vntill they came to the Rhene, which was about six miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them saved themselves by swimming: others found some boate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting vpon a little Barke tied to the shore, recovered the other side, & so saved himselfe: the rest, were all slaine by the horsemen. Ariouistus had two wiues: one a Sweian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the sister of King Voccon, sent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and married there: both these perished in that fight, his two daughters likewise being there, one was slaine, and the other taken.

As Cæsar pursued the Germane horsemen, it was his chauce to light vpon Valerius Proculus, as he was drawne vp and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it selfe; beeing

Cæsar.

so fortunate to reconce his familiar friend, and a man of sort in the Province, whom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither would Fortune by the losse of him, abate any thing of so great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three severall times cast lots, whether he should be burned alive; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought unto him. The same of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Swebians that were come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: whom the inhabitants were upon that river pursued, finding them terrified and distracted, and slew a great number of them.

Cæsar, having thus ended two great warres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their wintering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the yere required: and leaving Labienus to command them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

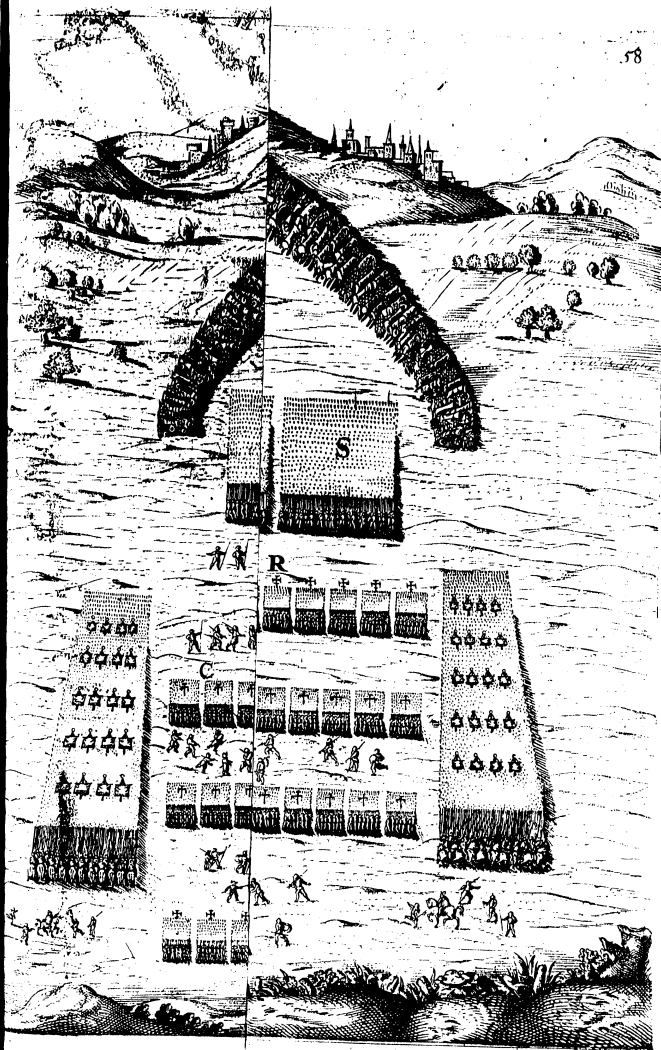
THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

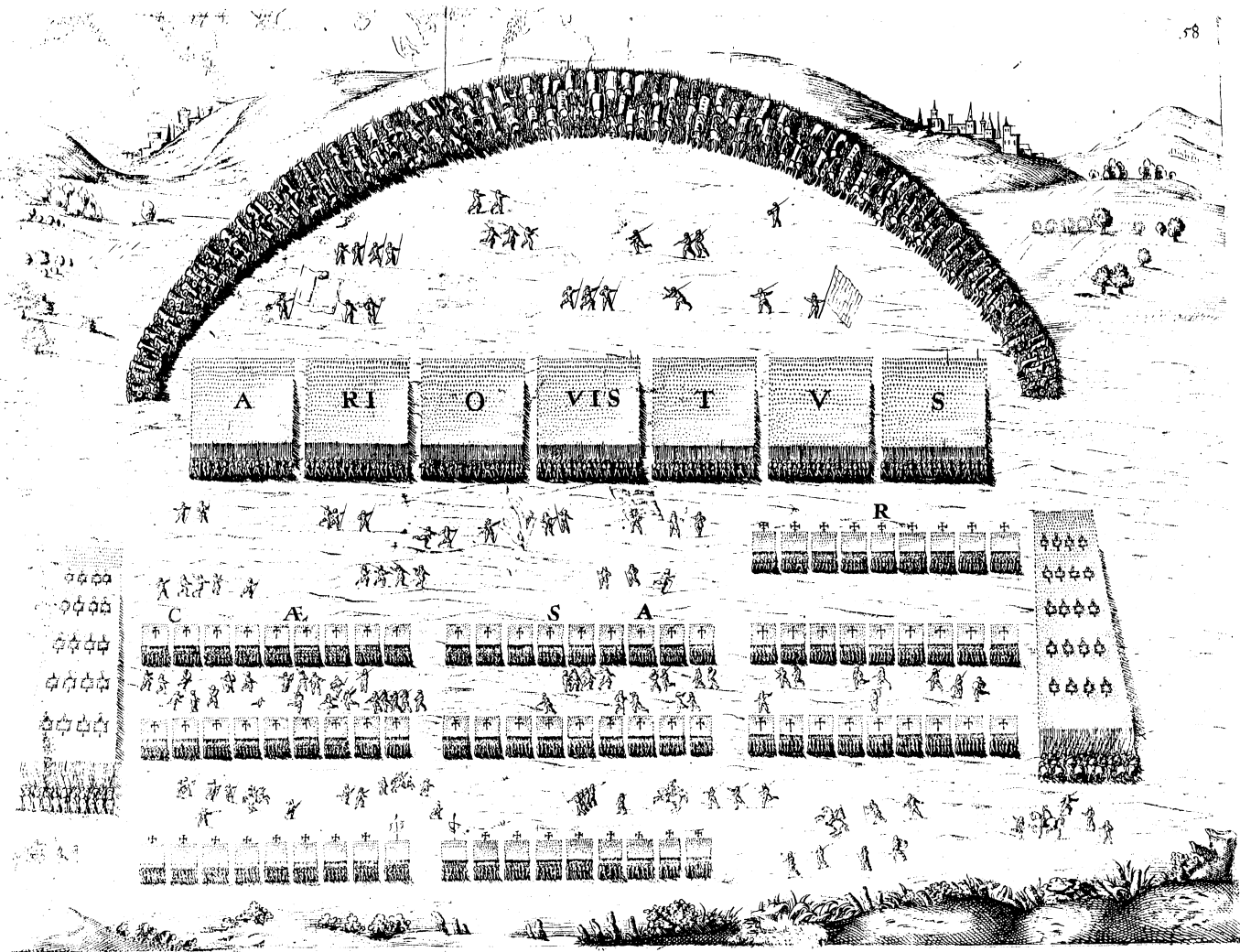
THis Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to vnderstand it to bee fo rearm'd, by reason of the close and compact imbattailing, rather then in any other respect: and it resembled much a *testudo*, as I said of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I observe, that Cæsar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the substance: which was, to haue *primam, secundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* should beginne the battell, and the second should come fresh and assault them: or peradventure if the enemy were many and strong, the first and second battell were ioyned together, and so charged vpon the enemy with greater furie and violence; but at all adventures, the third battell was euer in *subsidio*, as they rearm'd it, to succour any part that should be overcharged: which was a thing of much consequence, and of great wisdom. For, if wee either respect the encouragement of the souldiours, or the casualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to haue a second and a third succour, to giue strength to the fainting weakenesse of their men, and to repaire the disadvantage which any accident should cast vpon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie stood doubtfull which of the two parties the should honour, these alwaies stept in, being fresh, against wearie & overlaboured spirits, and so drew victorie in despite of casualtie, vnto themselves.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

These of
lots.

Concerning vse of lottes, it shall not be amisse to looke into the nature of them; being in former times so generall, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest affaires, by the sentence of lots. As wee may not refuse for an vndoubted





doubted truth, that which Salomon saith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are cast into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Iosua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apostles to consecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whose blindness in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to senselesse superstition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether these, I say, were perswaded that there was any supernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of destinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Aristotle, the wisest of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent casual, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reason of man could assigne no cause, or (as he saith) which hath no cause. So that whatsoeuer happened in any action, besides the intent of the agent and workman, was tearmed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certaintie and definite cause, were necessarily produced; and therefore could not be casual, or subiect to the inconstancie of chance. And because many and sundry such chances daily happened, which like *terra filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reason, by the appearance of an efficient cause, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and soueraigne Motor, of all such vnexpected euents: that is, they made nothing else the Gouvernesse, and directresse of many things. Which afterward grew to such credit amongst men, that it surpassed in dignity all naturall causes, and was deified with celestial honour, as the Poet saith: *Nos se facimus Fortuna deam caloque locamus*. By the prouidence of this blind Goddesse, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all casual actions directed, and especially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleasure and decree: neither could their direction be assigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the euent could not haue beene called *Sors*, but must haue been reputed in the order of necessarie effects, whereof discourse of reason acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cause. Whereby we see vpon how weake an axletree, the greatest motions of the godlesse world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncertaintie, for the *intelligentia*, that gouerned their reuolutions. All heerein all sorts of men (although in diuers respects) rested as well contented, as if an Oracle had spoken vnto them, and reuealed the mysteries of fatall destinie.

Rome directed the maine course of her gouernment, by the fortune of this mocke destinie: For, although their Consuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleased their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and suted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Consull was leuerally to manage, was shared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waste their territories, the lots assigned this Consull for the gouernment of the City; and the other to command the legions, and to manage the war.

If forces were to be sent into diuers Prouinces, & against feuerall enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could giue to either Confull his taske: but their peculiar charges were authorized by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the sanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, *Sors omnia versat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithstanding the weak foundation of this practise in their Theologie and deepell diuinity) we may not thinke but these skilfull Architecōrs of that absolute government, wherein vertue ioyned with true wisdom, to make an vnexampld patterne: we may not thinke, I say, but they foresaw the manifold danger, which in the course of common actions could no other way be prevented, but by the vse of lots. For when things are equally leveled between diuers objects, and runne with indifferencie to equall stations, there must be some controlling power, to draw the current towards one Coast, and to appropriate it vnto one channell, that the order of Nature bee not inuersed, nor a well established government disturbed: So the state of Rome, casting many things with equall charge vpon her two soueraigne Magistrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meanes could there be inuented, to interresse the one in that office, and to discharge the other, then to appoint an Arbitr, whose decree exceeded humane reason? Of which, it could not bee said why it was so, but that it was so: for, if the wisdom of the Senate had been called to counsell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might easily haue burst out into ciuill discord, considering the often contentions betweene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the constant mutabilitie of euerie mans priuate affections necessarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reason indiscernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peradventure he had not, and cast the other lower then would haue well becomen his vertues: and therefore to cut off these, with many other inconueniencies, they inuented lots; which without either reason or will, might decide such controuersies.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers respected the ground and reason of an ordinance, so the commoditie were great, and the vse important to the good of the State: for, as they saw the thing it selfe to be casual, so they saw that casual things are sometimes more necessarie, then demonstratiue conclusions: neither ought the nature, and speculatiue consideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flourish. And thus endeth the first Commentarie of Cæsar his warre in Gallia.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

Like as when a heavy body lieth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantitie, although it couer but a smal parcell of the whole surface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable measure of that waight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one Totality, seele the same suppression which hath really seised but vpon their fellow part: In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furthest skirt of that triple Continent, seemed to repine at that heavy burthen, which the Romane Empire had laid vpon the Prouince, the Hedui, & other States of that kingdom. And least it might in time be further remoued, and laide directly vpon their shoulders, they thought it expedient whilst they felt it but by participation, to gather their feuerall forces into one head, and try whether they could free their neighbour Nations from so greuous a yoke; or at the least keep it from comming any neerer vnto themselves. And this is the Argument of this second booke; which diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first containing the warres betweene Cæsar and all the States of Belgia vnited together; the second recording the battailes which he made with some of the States thereof in particular, as time and occasion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar hasteth to his Armie, marcheth towards the

Confines of the Belgæ, and taketh in the men of Rheimes.



HE report of this confederacie being brought vnto Cæsar, whilst he wintered beyond the Alpes, as well by Letters from Labienus, as by the common hearesay of the world: he leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and sent them by L. Pedius into Gallia: and as soone as there was any forrage in the fields, he himselfe came to the Army. At his arrivall, vnderstanding the Sebonas and the rest of the

Cæsar.

the Gallies that bordered upon the Belgæ (to whom hee came in charge to learne what was done amongst them) that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiers, and gathering their forces into one head: he thought it not safe to make any further delay; but having made provision of corne, hee drew out his Armie from their wintering camps, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. As soone as he was come thither, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the uttermost of the Belgæ, next adioyning to the Celtæ, thought it best to entertaine a peaceable resolution, and sent Iulius Cæsar Antebrogus, two of the chiefe men of their State, unto Cæsar, to submit themselves and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romaine Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsell of the Belgæ, and of their conspiracie against the Romanes. For proofe whereof they were ready to give hostages, to receive them into their towne, & to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in need of. That the rest of the Belgæ were all in Armes; and the Germans on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succor: yea their madness was so great, that they themselves were not able to hold backe the Suefones from that attempt, being their brethren & kinsmen in blood, and using the same lawes and customes as they did, having both one magistracie and one forme of government; but they would needs support the same quarrell which the rest of the Belgæ had undertaken.

OBSERVATION.

N Might heere take occasion to speak somewhat of a particular revolute in a generall cause; and howe a confederate State may in regard of their owne safetie forsake a common quarrell, or whatsoever the vniuersall societie hath enacted preiudiciall to their common weale; but that I onely intend to discouer warlike practises, leaving these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater iudgement and better experience. Onely I obserue in the behalfe of the Romaine government, that such cities as yielded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treasurer (howsoever they were otherwise combined by confederacie) seldom or neuer repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that State, and of the due respect obserued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.

Cæsar.



Cæsar inquiring of the Embassadors which came from Rheimes what the States were that had taken Armes, and what they were able to doe in matter of Warre: found the Belgæ to be defended from the Germanes who passing ouer the Rhene, time of our mind, drove away the Gallies and seated themselves in their possessions: and that these only of all the Gallies kept the Cimbræ & Teutoni from entering into their

their country: and in that regard they chalenged to themselves great authority, and vaunted much in their seats of Armes. Concerning their number, they had these aduertisements: the Bellouaci exceeded all the Belgæ in prowesse, authority, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The Suefones inhabiting a large and fertile country, and having 12 walled towne, promised to set out 50000. The Neruij as many; the Atrebatij 15000. the Ambiani 10000. the Vellocassi, and Veromandui as many; the Morini 35000. the Menapij 7000. the Calesani 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the Eburones, Condrusjones, and others 40000. Cæsar encouraging the men of Rheimes to persist in their faithfulness to the Romaine Empire, propounded unto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commanded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their Noble mens Sounes to be given up for hostages: which they diligently performed by a day appointed. and having received two speciall aduertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemies; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood: he provided for the first by perswading Diuitiæus the Hædian, that it much imported the whole course of these busineses, to keepe asunder the power of the enemies; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might avoid the danger of encountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easily be brought to passe, if the Hædii would enter with a strong power into the Marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their Territories with sword and confusion: which Diuitiæus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement, which presented unto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, hee refused not to bee too hastic in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could doe, and what his owne men durst doe.

OBSERVATION.

T His rule of making trial of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent & graue commanders, as the surest principle wheron the true iudgement of the enemy may be grounded. For, if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde non putabz was neuer heard out of a wife mans mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions: it ought especially to be regarded in managing these maine points, wherupon the State of Kingdomes and Empires dependeth. For, vnlesse we be perswaded that blind Chance directeth the course of this world with an vnertaine confusion, and that no foresight can sway the ballance of our hap into either part of our fortune: I see no reason why we should not by all means endeavour to ground our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our proceedings to that certaintie which riseth from the things themselves. And this is rather to be virged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceiued which they look no further then to match an enemy with equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot

G 2

discerne

^a The country about Beauvois.
^b The country about Soissons.
^c The people about Tournai.
^d Arras.
^e Amiens.
^f Vermandois.
^g Tervere.
^h Liege.
296000.
in all.

discerne the difference betweene two champions of like presence and outward carriage, vntil he see their strength compared together and weighed as it were in the scale of triall: which Cæsar omitted not diligently to obserue, before he would adventure the hazard of battell. For, besides his owne satisfaction, it gaue great encouragement to his men, when they saw themselves able to countermatch an enemy, & knew their task to be subiect to their strength: Neither did hee obscure it only at this instant, but throughout the whole course of his actions; for, we finde that he neuer encountered any enemy, but with sufficient power, either in number or in valour, to make head against them: which equalitie of strength, being first laid as a sure foundation, he vsed his owne industrie and skill, and the discipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouerthrow his aduersarie: and so drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himselfe, and seldom failed in any of his battels.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth his Armie over the riuer * Axona,
leauing Titurius Sabinus incamped on the
other side with sixe cohorts,



SOOONE as Cæsar vnderstood, as well by his discouersers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of Belgæ was assembled together into one place, and was now making towards him no great distance off, he made all the haste he could to passe his Armie over the Riuer Axona, which diuided the men of Rheimes from the other Belgæ. Whereby he brought to passe, that no enemy could come on the backe of him to work

any disadvantage: and that come might be brought vnto him from Rheimes, and other citties without danger. And further, that hee might command the passage backe againe, as occasion should serue to his best aduantage, hee fortified a bridge which he found on the riuer, with a strong garrison of men, and caused Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himselfe on the other side of the riuer with sixe cohorts, commanding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foot in altitude, and a trench of 8 foot in breadth.

OBSERVATION.

IF it be demanded, why Cæsar did passe his Armie over the riuer, leauing it on his backe, and did not rather attend the enemy on the other side, and so take the aduantage of hindring him, if hee should attempt to passe ouer: I will set downe the reasons in the sequell of this warre, as the occurrences shall fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time, let vs enter into the particularities of these sixe cohorts, that we may the better iudge of such troupes which were imploied in the seruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of soldiers

thelc

these sixe cohorts did containe; it seemeth expedient, a litle to discourse of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vsed in their Armies.

And first we are to vnderstand, that the greatest and chiefeft regiment in a Roman Armie, was termed by the name of Legio: as Vatro saith, *quod leguntur milites in delectu*: or as Plutarch speaketh, *quod lecti ex omnibus essent milites*: so that it taketh the name Legio, of the choise & selecting of the soldiers. Romulus is said to be the first author & founder of these legions, making euery legion to containe 3000. soldiers: but shortly after they were augmented, as Festus recordeth, vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000, to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntill Hannibal came into Italy, and then it was augmented to 5000: but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, whē Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonia to keepe the Prouince from rebellion, consisted of 6000 footmen and 300 horse. Out of Cæsar it cannot be gathered, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men, but oftentimes it was short of that number: for he himselfe saith that in this warre in Gallia his soldiers were so wasted, that he had scarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill warre, where he saith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohorts, which amounted to the number of 55000 men: and being manifest as well by these number of cohorts, as by the testimony of diuers authors that Pompei his Armie consisted of 11 legions; if wee deuide 55000 into 11. parts, we shall find a legion to consist of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the vusual rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expressed the strength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is said, that Cæsar had eight legions: which by this account might arise to 40000 men, besides associates, & such as necessarily attended the Armie. Further, we are to vnderstand, that euery legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and distinguished from the rest: & that it tooke either from their order of muster, or inuolvement; as that legion, which was first intolled, was called the first legion; and that which was second in the choise, the second legion; and so consequently of the rest; and so we reade in this historie, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh and twelfth legion: or otherwise from the place of their warfare, and so we reade of *legiones Germanicæ, Panonicæ, Britannicæ*, and such others: and some time of their Generall, as *Augusta, Claudia, Vitelliana legiones*, and so forth. Or to conclude, from some accident of qualitie, as *Rapax, Victrix, Fulminifera* &c. such like. And thus much of the name and number of a legion: which I must necessarily distinguish into diuers kindes of soldiers, according to the first institution of the old Romans, and the continuall obseruation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the description of the smaller parts whereof a legion was compounded.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that after the Consuls had made a general choise and sworn the souldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngest and poorest of all the rest, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place

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*A legio
vbi n. n. n.
Lib. 4.
De vita Ro-
muli.*

Lib. lib. 22.

*Tacitus 3.
lib.*

Velites.

Hastati.

Principes.

Lib. 6.

Lib. 1. de milit. Rom.

The use of this division.

The division of their companies.

Manipuli.

Ordo.

in regard of the other soldiers was both base & dishonorable: not only because they fought a far off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forlome hopes are. Having chosen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree above the Velites, both in age and wealth, and termed them by the name of Hastati; forasmuch as at their first institution they fought with a kind of Jaucelin, which the Romanes called Halta: but before Polybius his time they used Pikes; notwithstanding their ancient name continued vnto the later time of the Empire. The third choise which they made, was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes: the rest that remain'd were named Triarii, as Varro saith; *Quod tertio ordine extremis subsidio deponitur*: These were alwaies the eldest and best experienced men, and were placed in the third diuision of the battell, as the last help and refuge in all extremitie, Polybius saith, that in his time the Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men a peece; and the Triarii neuer exceeded the number of 600. although the general number of a legio were augmented: whereof Lyppius alledgeth these reasons; First because these Triarii consisted of the best of the soldiers, and so might countervail a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it seldom came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controuersie grew very doubtfull. Lastly, we may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinary followers, ranged themselves amongst these Triaries, & so made the third battell equal to either of the former: but howsoever, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

In this diuision of their men, consisted the ground of that well ordered discipline; for, in that they distinguished them according to their yeeres and ability, they reduced their whole strength into severall classes; and so disposed of these different parts, that in the general composition of their whole body, euery part might be fitted with place & office, according as his worth was answerable to the same: and so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties; that from euery accident which met with any part of the Army, the iudgement might determine how much or how little it imported the whole bodie: besides the great vñ which they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no small consequence, in the excellencie of their government.

The soldiers, at their inuolment being thus diuided according to their yeeres and ability, they then reduced them into smaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and so they diuided the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those three sorts of soldiers 30 small regiments, which they called Manipuli: And againe, they subdiuided euery manipule into two equal parts, and called them Ordo, which was the least company in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60 soldiers. In euery Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieutenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The manipules of the Triarii were much lesser then the manipules of either the Hastati or the Prin-

cipes;

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii were called *subsignari milites*, to make a difference betweene them & the Velites, which were not diuided into bands; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that euery Manipule had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

The word *Cohors* in latine doth signifie that part of ground which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house; which from the same word we call a court: and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he, many out-buildings ioyned together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisted of severall maniples ioined together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euery legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples; but these three maniples were not al of one and the same kind of soldiers, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3 of the Principes, and 3 of the Triarii, as Patricius in his Paralleli seemeth to affirme; for so there would haue remained an odde manipule in euery kind, that could not haue bene brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a manipule of the Hastati, a manipule of the Principes, and a manipule of the Triarii; and so all the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; and euery cohort was as a little legion: forasmuch as it consisted of all those sorts of soldiers that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts, which he incamped on the other side of the riuer, vnder the command of Titurius Sabinus, contained 3000 soldiers: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200 which was the more vñall rate, there were 2520 soldiers in these sixe cohorts.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of foure sorts of soldiers, which were reduced into ten cohorts; and euery cohort contained 3. maniples; and euery manipule 2 orders; and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and euery Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutenant, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

When a legion stood ranged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the least body or Squadron that it contained was a manipule; wherein the two orders were ioined together, making jointly ten in front, and twelue in file: and so euery five files had their Centurion in front, & Lieutenant in the rereward, to direct them in all adventures. In the time of the Emperours, their battalions consisted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great soeuer the Armie were.

Polybius distinguishing a manipule into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stood on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left orders; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commanded the whole manipule. And so we finde that the Centurion of the first

Cohors.
Lib. 3. de re
milit.A legion van-
gean battell.The first or-
der.

De bello
civil.

first place was called *Prior Centurio*; in which sense Cæsar is to be understood, where he saith that all the Centurions of the first cohorte were slain, *Præter principem priorem*. From whence we gather two specialities: first, the priority between the Centurions of the same Maniple: for, a cohorte consisting of 3. Maniples, whereof the first Maniple were *Triarii*, the second *Principes*, and the third *Hastati*; and every Maniple containing two orders; and every order a Centurion: he saith, that all the Centurions of this cohorte were slain, saving the first or ypper Centurion of the *Principes*. The second thing which I observe, is the title of the first cohorte: for these 10. cohortes, whereof a Legion consisted, were distinguished by degrees of worthiness; and that which was held the worthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the priority both of place and name, and was called the first cohorte: the next, the second cohorte; and so consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Primæ
cohortæ.

Neither did the Legions want their degrees of preheminance, both in imbatailing and in incamping, according either to the senioritie of their inolement, or the favor of their Generall, or their owne vertue: And so we read that in these wars in Gallia, the tenth Legion had the first place in Cæsar's Armie. And thus much concerning the diuisions, and severall companies of a Legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the same.

The benefit of
this discipline.

Vpon this description it shal not be amisse, briefly to lay open the most apparent commodities depending vpon this discipline; the excellencie whereof more plainly appeareth, being compared to that order, which Nature hath observed in the frame of her worthiest creatures: for it is evident, that such workes of Nature come neere to perfect excellency, whose materiall substance is most particularly distinguished into parts, and hath every part endued with that property, which best agreeth to his peculiar service. For, being thus furnished with diversitie of instruments, and these directed with fitting abilities; the creature must needs expresse many admirable effects, and discover the worth of an excellent nature: whereas those other bodies, that are but slenderly laboured, and find lesse fauour in Natures forge, being as abortives, or barbarously compoed, wanting the diuersitie both of parts and faculties; are no way capable of such excellent vies, nor fit for such distinct services, as the former that are directed with so many properties, & inabled with the power of so well distinguished faculties. Which better workes of Nature the Romans imitated in the Architecture of their Army, diuiding it into such necessary & seruiceable parts, as were best fitting alvies & implements: as first Legions, and legions into cohortes, and cohortes into maniples; and maniples into centuries or orders, and these into files; wherein every man knew his place, and kept the same without exchange or confusion: and thus the vniuersall multitude was by order disposed into parts, vntill it came vnto a unitie. For it cannot be denied, but that these centuries were in themselves so sensible distinguished, that every souldiour carried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbatailing, every centurie was disposed into 5. files, containing twelue in a file; whereof the leaders were alwaies certaine, and neuer changed but by death or some other speciall occasion: and euery leader

leader knew his follower, and euery second knew the third man, and so consequently vnto the last.

Vpon these particularities it plainly appeareth, how easie a matter it was, to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and disrankt to rallie them into any forme, when euery man knew both his owne and his fellows station. If any companies were to be employed vpon sudden service, the general Idea of the Armie being so deeply imprinted in the mind of the commanders, would not suffer them to erre in taking out such cōuenient troupes, both for number and qualitie, as might best agree with the safety of the Armie, or nature of the action. At all occasions and opportunities, these principles of advantage offered themselves, as ready means, to put in execution any designe, or stratagem whatsoever: the proiect was no sooner resolved of, but euery man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of euery such part, their sodalitie was sweetened, or rather strengthened with the mutual acquaintance, and friendship one of another; the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the ensigne in the middle, and the lieutenant in the reterward, and euery man accompanied with his neighbour and his friends: which bred a true and vnfaigned courage, both in regard of themselves, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no small means to cut off all matter of ciuill discorde, and intestine dissension: for, here euery man knew his place in the File, and euery File knew his place in the Centurie, and euery Centurie in the Maniple, and euery Maniple in the Cohort, and euery Cohort in the Legion, and euery Legion in the Armie; and so euery souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euery place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The want of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiall government of this age, with bloudshed and murders; whereof France is too true a witness, as well in regard of the French themselves, as of our English forces that haue bene sent thither to appease their tumults: for, through defect of this order, which alloteth to euery man his due place, the controuersie grew betwene Sir William Drurie & Sir Iohn Bowrowes; the issue whereof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue bene negligent, so I may not forget to giue due commendation to the care which is had of this point amongst the English troupes, in the seruice of the States in the vnted provinces; where they are very curious in appointing euery man his place in the File, and euery File in the troupe, and find much benefit thereby, besides the honour of reuiuing the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their small battallions, & the disadvantage, which we haue in making great squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troupes stand best appointed for disposition & array of battell, which standing strong to receiue a shooke, bring most men to fight with the enemy; for, the principal things

The benefit of
small battal-
lions: and the
disadvantage
of great squad-
rons.

things which are required in setting of a battel, are so to order the troupes, that the depth in flanke may serve conveniently to withstand the assault, taking vp no more men then may well serue for that purpose; and giuing meanes to the rest to fight with the enemy: and in these two points, were both their defense and offense considered comprehended. But smaller troupes and battalions afford this conueniencie better then great squadrons: which drowne vp manie able men in the depth of their flanks, and neuer suffer them to appeare, but when the breaking of the Squadron doth present them to the butchery of the enemy. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the first booke, neuer carried above 16. in flinke, & brought 300 to fight in front. And these little battalions (considering them as they stood in battell) made as great a front or greater, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth answerable to the same; besides the 2 and 1 battell, which alwaies were to succour the, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and close imbatailing admit any such succour behind them. Now if we compare the advantages and discommodities, which by place and accident were incident to either of the, we shall find great odds betweene them. These great squadrons are not failable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either stand immouable, or make easy & flow motions without shaking or disordering their body: but the lesser are a scantling for all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what site or qualite foueuer. And to conclude, if two or three ranks of these great battalions chance to be broken and disordered, the whole body is as much interested in the disorder, as the said ranks are: and hath lesse meanes to rally it selfe, then any other lesser company: but if any violence chance to rout a Maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Army, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the disracking of any one part, betray the safety of the Army to disorder & confusion; for as much as their distinction serued to cut off such inconueniences, & yet no waie hindered the generall uniting of their strength into one body. More maie bee said concerning this matter: but I onely point at it, and leaue the due consideration thereof, to the iudgement of our commanders, & returne to our history.

CHAP. IIII.

The Belgæ attempt the surprise of * Bibrax: *Cæsar sendeth succour vnto it.*



HERE was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the state of Rheimes, about eight miles from Cæsars Campe; which the Belgæ thought to haue surpris'd, as they came along to meete with Cæsar, and suddenly assaulted it with such furie, that the towne men could hardly holde out the first day. The Celte and Belgæ vs'd one and the same manner, in assaulting a towne: for, binning beset the whole compasse of the wall with ranks

* Bibrax in the
country of Rhe-
tels.

rankes of souldiers, they neuer cease flinging of stones vntill they finde the wall naked of defendants; and then casting them selues into a Testudo, they approch to the gate & undermine the walls. As soone as the night had made an end of the assault, Iecius of Rheimes, a man of great birth and authoritie in his country, who at that time was gouernour of the towne, and had bene before with Cæsar, to treat and conclude a Peace: sent him worde by messengers, that if there came not preste succour, he was not able to hold out any longer. The same day about midnight (vsing the same messengers for guides) he sent both Numidian and Cretian Archers, & Slingers of the Isles of Balcare, to relieue the towne by meanes whereof, the towne men were put in good hope to make their partie strong, and the enemy made hopeles of winning the towne: and therefore after a small stay, hauing populated their fields, and burned their villages and out-buildings, they marched with all their power towards Cæsars Campe; and within lesse then two miles of the Armie, they incamped their whole host: which, as was gathered by the smoke and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the description of their assault, we are to obserue two circumstances: The first is, the manner they vs'd in a sudden surprise: The second is, the forme and qualitie of a Testudo. Although Cæsar seemeth to attribute this manner of assaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Gallies; yet wee may not thinke but that the Romans vs'd it, as often as they had occasion to surprise any citie: but because the Gallies knew no other meanes to take a towne but this, therefore he setteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of assault *Corona*; and so we read oftentimes this phrase, *Cingere orbem corona*: forasmuch as the soldiers inclosed the towne with a circle, and so resembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus speaketh of a triple crowne of souldiers, which encompassed a towne: And Iosephus telleth of Iotapatam, which the Romans besieged *duplici pedum corona*: and besides these, there was a third circle of horsemen vnto of al. There is no further matter to be obserued but this; that in surprising a towne, they incircled it round about with thicke continued ranks of men, and where they found the wall weakest, there they entered as they could.

To take a
towne by sur-
prise.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Testudo requireth a larger discourse, and is liuely described in Liuius, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people did often assemble to see strange sightes and publike shewes, were brought in (saith he) so lusty young men, who after some motion, & seemely march, cast themselves into a square troupe, and roofing their heades close with their targets, the first ranke which made the front of the Testudo, stood vp right on their feete; the second ranke bowed it selfe somewhat lower; the

ATestudo
described.
Lib. 44.

the third and fourth ranks did more incline themselves, and so consequentlie vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground: and so they made a bedie resembling halfe the side of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this squadron so strongly combined together, came two souldiers running some fiftie foot off, and threatening each other with their weapons, ran nimble vp the side of the roole, & sometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemy, that would haue entred vpon it, sometimes againe encountering each other in the midst of it, leaped vp and downe as steadily as if they had been vpon firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the side of a wal, there ascended many armed men vpon the said Testudo, and fought in an equall height with other souldiers, that stood vpon the said wal to defend it. The dissimilitude in the composition was this, that the souldiers that were in front, and in the sides of the square, carried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; and covered their bodies with them: & so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, could any waie hurt them; and what soeuer waight fell vpon the Testudo, it quickly glyded downe by the decliuitie of the roole, without any hurt or annoyaunce at all.

Thus far Liuius goeth; neither doe I know what to say further of it: the chief vlt thereof was in a surprise or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the townes men were thoroughly prepared to defend the same. This invention serued them to approach the wall with safetie, and so either to vndermine it, or to cline vp: and to that end they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Tacitus saith, that the souldiers clumed vpon the wall, *super iteratam testudinem*, by one Testudo made vpon another; and this was the ancient forme and vie of a Testudo in a suddaine assault or surprise.

Dio Cassius, in the actes of Antonie, saith, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, he commanded his whole Armie to put it selfe into a Testudo: which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romanes hadde sunke downe for wearines and faintnes; and so forsaking their horse, drewe their swordes to haue made execution: and then the Romanes, at a watch word given, rose againe with such a furie, that they put them alsto sword and flight. Dio describeth the saide Testudo after this manner: They placed, saith hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their hortenens, in the middle; and those heauiely armed footemen that carried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the utmost circles next vnto the Enemy: The reste (which bare large Ovall Targettes) were thronged together throughout the whole troupe; and so covered with their Targettes both themselves and their fellows, that there was nothing discerned by the Enemy but a roole of Targettes; which were tiled together, that men might safely goe vpon them.

Further, we oftentimes read, that the Romanes cast themselves into a Testudo, to breake through an Enemy, or to route and disranke a troupe. And this vie the Romanes had of a Testudo in field seruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regard of the strength, for that it

covered

covered and sheltered, as a shell couereth a fish. And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Firldly, we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar provided for the safetie of such succours as he sent vnto Bibrax: for, hee commanded the same messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the best & surest guides in that iourney; least peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers. A matter of no small consequence in managing a war; but deserueth an extraordinary importunitie, to perswade the necessitie of this diligence: for, a Generall, that hath perfectly discovered the nature of the country, through which he is to march, & knoweth the true distances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiousness of turnings, the nature of the hills, & the course of the rivers, the particularities, as maine aduantages, to giue meanes of so many seuerall attempts vpon an enemy. And in this point, Haniball had a singular dexteritie, and excelled all the Commanders of his time, in making vie of the way, by which he was to passe. But, he that leadeth an Army, by an ynnknowing and vndiscovered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is subiect to as many casualties and disadvantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let euery man therefore perswade himselfe, that good Discoverers are as the eyes of an Armie, and serue for lights in the darknesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safetie so manifest, that we need not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar, in his iourney to Ariouistus, vied the help of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in who amongst all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence, to discover the way, and acquaint him with the passages: and before he would vndertake his voyage vnto Britanie, hee vwell informed himselfe by Marchants and trauallers, of the quantitie of the land, the qualitie of the people, their vie of war, and the opportunitie of their hauens. Neither was he satisfied with their relations, but he sent Caius Volusenus in a ship of war, to see what he could further discover, concerning these points. Suetonius addeth moreover, that he neuer caried his Army, *per insidia sitinera*, vntill he had first well discovered the places.

Concerning the order, which skillfull Leaders haue obserued in discoveries, we are to knowe that this point consisteth of two partes: the one, in vnderstanding the perfect description of the country; and the second, in obseruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, wee find as well by this as other histories, that the Romanes vied the inhabitants of the country for Guides, as best acquainted with their native places, that they might not erre in so important a matter; provided alwaies, that their owne scoures were euer abroad to vnderstand what they could of themselves, that they might not altogether relye vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the Enemy were obserued by the horsemen: and these for the most part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter

H.

The necessity of good discovery.

New England.

The order which is to be obserued in discovery.

of warre, and so the Generall received sound aduertisements: & yet they were not too forward vpon any new motion, vnlesse they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for, some Epilaps may erre, either through passion or affection, as it happened in the Heluetian war. If therefore the vse and benefite, which prudent and wise Commanders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to perswade a circumspect care heerein, this little that hath been spoken, may be sufficient for this point.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

Slingers with
their arte &
use.



He souldiers which Cæsar sent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, & Slingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, & Minorica: which kinde of weapon, because it seemeth ridiculous to the souldiers of these times, whose conceits are held vp with the furie of these fierie engines; I will in briefe discouer the nature and vse of this weapon.

The Latines, saith Iodore, called this weapon *funda*: quod ex ea fundantur lapides. Plinie attributeth the inuention therot to the Insulairs, called Baleares. Florus, in his 3 booke and 8 chap. saith, that these Baleares vsed 3 sorts of slings and no other weapon besides: for, a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before hee had first strooke it with a sling. Strabo distinguisheth these three sorts of slings, which the Baleares vsed; and saith, that they had one sling with long raines, which they vsed when they would cast a far off: and another with short raines, which they vsed neere at hand: & the third, with raines of a meane stile, to cast a reasonable distance. Liplius saith, that in *Columna Antonina* at Rome, he obserued that the Balearean was made with one sling about his head, another about his belly, and the third in his hand; which might bee their ordinarie manner of carying them. The matter whereof they were made, was threefold: the first was hempe or cotton, the second haire, and the third sinewes: for, of either of these stufes, they commonly made them: the forme and fashion of a sling, resembled a platted rope, somewhat broad in the midst, with an Ouall compasse; and so by little & little, decreasing into two thonges or raines. Their manner of slinging, was to whirle it twice or thrice about their head, and so to cast out the bullet. Virgill speaking of Mezentius, saith;

Ipsæ ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

But Vegetius preferreth that skill, which cast the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas wee find, that these Baleares did commonly cast a stone of a pound waight which agreeth to these names in Cæsar, *fudas, librales*. The leaden bullets are mentioned by Salust, in the war with Iugurth; and by Lilius, where he saith, that the Confull provided great store of arrowes, of bullets, and of small stones to be cast with slings. This weapon was in request amongst diuers nations, as well in regard of the readines, & easie reiterating of the blowe, as also for that the bullet fledde very farre, with great violence: the distance

which

which they could easily reach with their sling, is expressed in this verse,

Fundum Parro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Lib. 2.

Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: their violence was such, as the same author affirmeth in his first booke & 16 chap. that neither helmet, gaber-dine, nor corselet could beare out the blowe; but hee that was hit with a sling, was slaine *sine inuidia sanguinis*, as he saith in the same place. Lucret, Ouid, and Lucan, 3 of the Latine Poets, say, that a bullet skillfully cast out of a sling, went with such violence, that it melted as it flew: whereof Seneca giueth this reason: Motion, saith he, doth extenuate the ayre, and that extenuation or subtiltie doth inflame: and so a bullet cast out of a sling, melteth as it flieth. But howsoever, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that these Balearean slingers, brake both target, head-piece, or any other armour whatsoever.

Lib. 2. naturæ
questioni.

There are also two other sorts of slings, the one mentioned by Lilius, and the other by Vegetius. That in Lilius is called *Cestrophenda*, which cast a short arrow with a long thick head: the other in Vegetius, is called *fulbulus*: which was a sling made of a corde and a staffe. But let this suffice for slings & slingers, which were reckoned amongst their light-armed souldiers, and vsed chieflie in assaulting, and defending townes & fortresses, where the heauie armed souldiers could not come to buckle: and present the place of our Hargebushers, which in their proper nature, are *leuis armaturæ milites*, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell,
but without any blowe giuen: the Belgæ attempt the
passing of the riuer Axona; but in vaine, and so their
losse: they consult of breaking vp the
vuarre.



CÆSAR at the first resolved not to giue the battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall same opinion conceived of their valour: notwithstanding hee daily made trial by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemy could do, & what his owne men durst do. And when he found that his owne men were nothing inferior to the Belgæ, hee chose a conuenient place before his camp, and put his Army in battell: the banke where he was incamped rising somewhat from a plaine leuell, was no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steep, and the front rose aslope by little & little, until it came again to a plaine, where the legions were imbar-tailed. And least the enemy abounding in multitude, should surround his men & charge the in the flank as they were fighting, he drew an ouerthwart ditch behind, his Army from one side of the hill to the other, 600 paces in length by the ends whereof

H 2.

Cæsar.

hee fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein store of engines; and leaning in his Campe the two legions which he had last inuolled in Lombardie, that they might be ready to be drawne forth when there should need any succour, he imbrated his other fixe legions in the front of the hill, before his Campe. The Belgæ also bringing forth their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There lay betwene both the Armies a small Marish: ouer which the enemy expected that Cæsar should haue passed; and Cæsar on the other side, attended to see if the Belgæ would come ouer, that his men might haue charged them in that troublesome passage. In the mean time the Cavalry on both sides encountered between the two battels, and after long expectation on either side, neither party aduenturing to passe ouer; Cæsar hauing got the better in the skirmish betwene the horsemen, thought it sufficient for that time, both for the encouraging of his owne men, & the contesting of so great an Army; and therefore hee conuailed all his men againe into their Campe. From that place the enemy immediately tooke his way to the River Axona, which lay behind the Romans Campe; and there finding foords, they attempted to passe ouer part of their forces, to the end they might either take the forresse which Q. Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge, or to spoile the territories of the State of Rheimes; & cut off the Romans from prouision of corne. Cæsar, hauing aduertisement thereof from Titurius, transported ouer the river by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians, with his Slingers and Archers, and marched with them himselfe. The conflict was hot in that place: the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, slew a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, aduenturing to pass ouer upon the dead carcases of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapons; and the horsemen incompassed such as had first got ouer the water, and slew euery man of them.

When the Belgæ perceived themselves frustrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, of passing the River, and of drawing the Romans into places of disadvantage, and that their owne prouisions began to faile them: they called a counsell of warre, where in they refused, that it was best for the State in generall, and for euery man in particular, to breake up their Camp, & to returne home onto their own houses; and in whose confines or territories soeuer, the Romans should first enter, to depopulate & waste them in hostile manner, that thither they should haue to flee from all parts, and there to giue them battell; to the end they might rather try the matter in their own country, then abroad in a strange & unknowne place; & haue their own household prouision alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Dindarius with a great power of the Ebedui, approached nere to the borders of the Belouacis; who, in that regard, made haste homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIRST we may obserue the Art, which he vsed to countervaille the strength of so great a multitude, by choosing out to conuenient place, which was no broader in front then would suffice the front of his battell; and hauing both the sides of the hill so steepe, that the enemy

could not ascend nor clime vp, but to their owne overthrow; he made the back part of the hill strong by Art, & so placed his souldiers as it were in the gate of a forresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth, how much he preferred securitie and salerie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardy resolution; which fauoureth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisdom: for he euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothing and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deliuered vp the Army safe into the evening; attending, vntill aduantage had laid sure principles of victory; and yet Cæsar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vlc hee made by passing his Armie ouer the river, and attending the enemy on the further side, rather then on the side of the state of Rheimes: for, by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoever the enemy should attempt in any part or quarter of the land, his forces were ready to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: and yet notwithstanding, hee lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of them, as they passed ouer the river. For, by the benefite of the bridge which he had fortified, he transported what forces hee would, to make head against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the river could afford him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



And heere the Reader may not marvel, if when the hills are in labor, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soon is the courage of this huge Army abated? or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude? or answeraile to the report which was bruted of their valour? but being hastily caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vpon the sight of an enemy: which is no strange effect of a sordaine humour. For, as in Nature all violent motions are of short continuance, & the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a slow and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an vntemperate violence, and fauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish away euery with the smoke thereof, & bring forth nothing but leasurable repentance: and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their hasty resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering; that when their iudgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraicheth their indiscreet intemperance, in the hote pursuit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce seene the enemy, or had the opportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for, their minds were so caried away with the conceit of warre, that they had no leisure to provide such necessaries, as are the strength and finewe of the warre. It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a souldier in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the State. The States

in like manner thought it enough to furnish our forie or sūcthouland men a-
preece, to discharge their oath, and to saue their hostages, committing other re-
quisites to the generall care of the confederacie: which, being directed by as
vnskilfull gouernors, neuer looked further then the present multitude; which
seemed sufficient to ouerthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man re-
lied vpon an others care, and satisfied himselfe with the present garbe; So ma-
ny men of all sorts and qualities, so many helmets and plumed crests, such stire
and emulation, what state should seeme in greatest forwardness; were motives
sufficient to induce euery man to go, without further inquiry, how they should
goe. And herein the care of a C. eneraill ought especially to be scene, con-
sidering the weakenesse of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of so many
men depending altogether vpon his prouidence, and engaged in the defence of
their state & country, he do not faile in these maine points of discipline, which
are the pillars of all warlike designs. To conclude this point, let vs learne by
their error, so to carrie a matter (especially of that consequence) that we make
it not much worse by ill handling it, then it was before we first tooke it to our
charge; as it heere happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armes sorted
to no other end, then to giue Cæsar iust occasion to make warre vpon them,
with such assurance of victorie, that he made iniall account of that which was
to follow, in regard of that which had already happened: considering that he
should not in all likel hood, meete with the like strength againe, in the continu-
ance of that warre. And this was not onely *grauis bellum successori tradere*, as
it often falleth out in the course of a long continued warre; but to draw a dan-
gerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwile might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they
returne home, are chased and slaughtered
by the Romaines.



C HIS generall resolution being entertained by the consent
of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their
Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as
it seemed) or gouernment, euery man pressing to bee for-
most on his iourney in such a turbulent manner, that they seem-
ed all to run away. Whereof Cæsar hauing notice by his spies,
and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiving the rea-
son of their departure, he kept his Army within his Campe. In the dawning of the
day, vpon certaine intelligence of their departure, he sent first his horsemen to
stay the reuerward, commanding Labienus to follow after with three legions:
these ouertaking the Belgæ, and chasing them many miles, slew a great number
of them. And while the reuerward slaid, and valiantly receiued the charge of
the Romaines, the vanguard being out of danger, and vnder no gouernment,
dissolue

Cæsar

as soon as they heard the alarm behind them, brake out of their ranks; & betook
themselues to flight; & so the Romaines slew them as long as the sunne gaue them
light to pursue them: and then sounding a retreat, they returned to their Campe.

OBSERVATION.

IT hath bene an old rule amongst souldiers, that A great and negli-
gent error comitted by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence
to treacherie. Wee read of Fulvius a Legate in the Romaine Army,
lying in Tuscany, the Consul being gon to Rome to performe some
publike dutie; the Tuscans tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they
could draw the Romaines into any inconuenience; and placing an ambuscado
necre vnto their campe, sent certaine souldiers, attired like shepheards, with
drones of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine Army: who handled the mat-
ter so, that they came vnto the rampier of the campe. Whereat the Legate
wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet until he had discou-
ered their treacherie, and to made frustrate their intent: In like manner Cæsar not
perfwaded that men should bee so heedles, to carry a retreat in that disorderly
and tumultuous manner, would not dis campe his men to take the opportunity
of that advantage, vntill hee had found that to be true, which in all reason was
vnlikely. And thus 296000, Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legi-
ons of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Coun-
trei of the Sueffones; and there besie-
geth * Nouiodunum.



H E next day after their departure, before they could recouer them-
selues of their feare and flight; or had time to put themselves againe
in breath: Cæsar, as it were continuing still the chase and victorie,
ledde his Armie into the country of the * Sueffones, the next borde-
rers vnto the men of Rheimes; and after a long iourney came vnto Nouiodunum
a towne of good importance, which hee attempted to take by surprize, as hee
passed along by it. For, hee vnderstoode, that it was altogether vnfortified of
defensue prouision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of
the breadth of the ditch and height of the wall, hee was for that time disap-
pointed of his purpose: and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make
preparatiō for a siege. The night following, the whole multitude of the Sueffones,
that had escaped by flight, were receiued into the towne: howbeit when the Vineæ
were with great expedition brought vnto the wall, the mount raised, & the tur-
rets built; the Gallies being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had
neuer

* Noyon.

Cæsar.

* Soissons.

never scene nor heard of before, and the speede which was made in the dispatch thereof, sent ambassadours to Caesar, to treat of giuing up the towne, and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their suite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this relation, we may obserue the industrious art, which the Romans vsed in assaulting, and taking holdes and townes, wherein we find three sorts of engines described, Vineæ, Agger, and Turres.

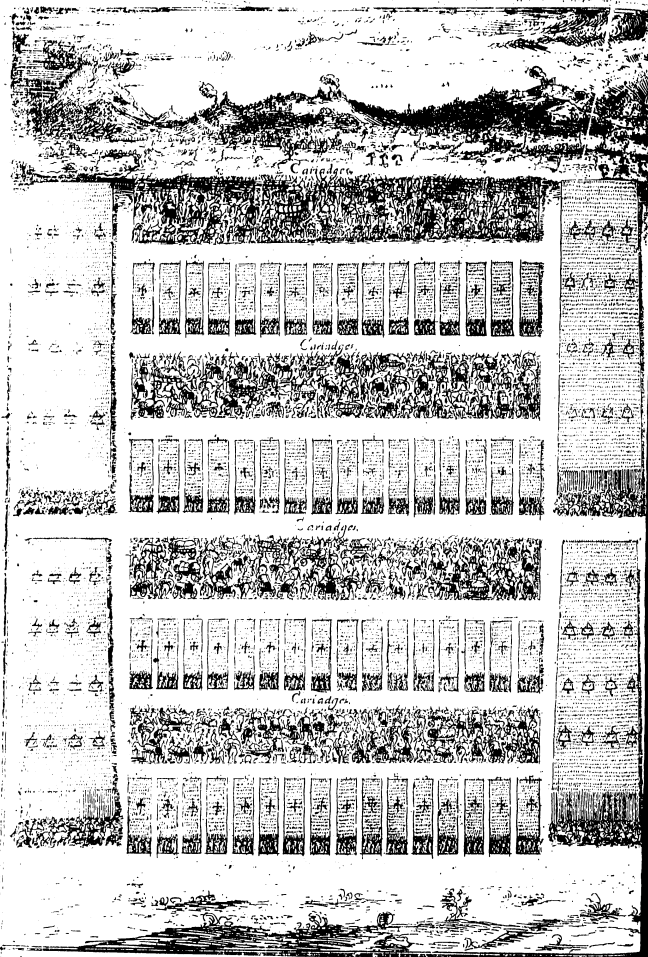
Vineæ is thus described by Vegetius: a little strong-built house or howell, made of light wood, that it might be removed with greatest ease; the roofoe was supported with diuers pillars of a foote square, whereof the formost were 8. foot high, and the hindmost 6. and betweene euery one of these pillars, there was 5 foot distance; it was alwaies made with a double roofoe; the silt or lower roofoe was of thick planks, and the vpper roofoe of hurdles, to breake the force of a waight without further shaking or disioyning the building: the sides were likewise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the souldiers that were vnder it: the whole length was about 16 foote, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofoe was commonly couered with greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of these howels were ioyned together in ranke, when they went about to vndermine a wal: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which were throwen vpon it might easily tumble down, without any great hurt to the engine: the foure sides and groundfills, had in euery corner a wheele, & by them they were driven to any place as occasion serued: the chiefeft vse of them was to couer and defend the souldiers, as they vndermined or overthrew a wall. This engine was called Vineæ, which signifieth a Vine, for it sheltered such as were vnder the roofoe thereof, as a Vine couereth the place where it groweth.

Agger, which we call a mount, is described in diuers histories to be a hill or elevation made of earth & other substance, which by little and little was raised forward, vntil it approached neere vnto the place, against which it was built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortresses and turrets, and so fight with an advantage of height. The matter of this mount, was earth and stones, fagots, and timber. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe all the trees within 11 mile compasse, for matter and stufte to make a mount. The sides of this Agger were of Timber, to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart which was towards the place of seruiçe, was open without any timber worke: for on that part they still raised it & brought it neerer the wals. That which was built at Massilia was 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80. foote high and 30. foot broad. Iosephus and Egegiopus writ, that there was a fortress in Iudea, 300. cubites high: which Sulla purposing to win by assault, raised a mount 200. cubites high; and vpon it he built a castle of stone 50. cubites high, and 50. cubites broad; and vpon the said castell hee erected a turret of 60 cubites in height, & so took the fortress. The Romans oftentimes raised these mounts in the mouth of a haven, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight, with much advantage.

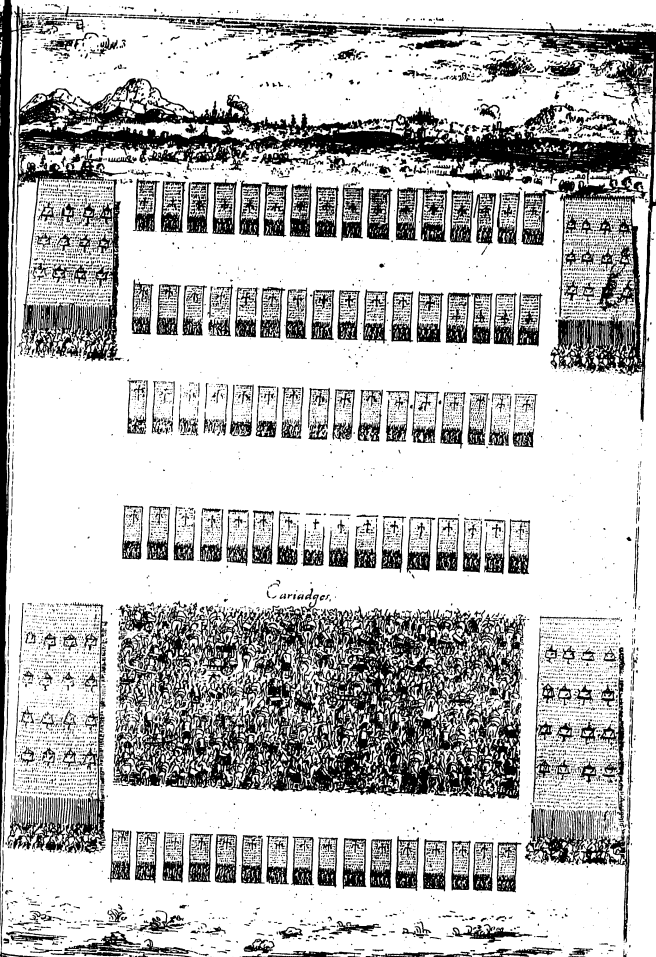
Amongst

* Lib 4.
A vineæ or
vine deserv-
ed.

Agger
mount.



CAESARS march where in every Legion had his Curiadges in front



CAESARS march where the Enemy was nearer at hand

Amongst other engines, in use amongst the Romans, their moucable Turrets were verie famous: for, they were built in some safe place out of danger; & with wheels put vnder them, were driuent to the walles of the towne. These turrets were of two sorts, either great or little: the lesser sort are described, by Vitruuius, to be fixtie cubites high, and the square side seauenteene cubites: the breadth at the top, was a fift part of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any danger of falling. The corner pillars, were at the base nine inches square, and 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in the little turrets, and windowes in euerie storie. The greater sort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the square side was 24 cubites: the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in euery one of these, were commonly 200 stories. There was not one & the same distance kept between the stories; for the lowest commonlie was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third. In euerie one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders and casting bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of these turrets were covered with yron, and wet coverings, to saue them from fire. The souldiours that remooued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the square thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-worke by Broken-wharfe in London, much resembleth one of these towers.

Towers or
Turret, de-
scribed.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Pon the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Stieffones submitted themselves to such powerfull industrie. For, whatsoeuer is strange and vnusall, doth much affright the spirits of an enemy, and breed a motion of distrust and diffidence, when as they find themselves ignorant of such warlike practices: for, noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder; in as much as the true reasons and causes being vnknowne, we apprehend it, as diuers from the visuall course of things, and so stand gazing at the strangenesse thereof: and wonder, as it addeth worth to the noueltie; so it inferreth diffidence, and so consequently feare, the viter enemy of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.



AESAR, taking for pledges the chieft of their Cittie, vpon the deliuerie of all their Armes, receiued the successe to mercy: and from thence led his Army against the Bellouaci; who, hauing conuained both themselves and their goods into the towne, called Bratipantium, and vnderstanding that Cæsar was come within five mile of the place, all the elder sort came forth to meeete him, signifying their submission.

Cæsar.

The Bellouaci taken to
mercy.

mission, by their lamentable demaour. For these, Diniatius became a mediator: who, after the Belge had broken up their campe, had dismissed his Heduan forces and was returned to Cæsar. The Hedui, saith he, haue alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly disposition to their State: and if they had not bene betrayed by their nobilitie (who made them believe, that the Hedui were brought in bondage by the Romaines, & suffered all villanie & despoight at their hands) they had neuer withdrawne themselves from the Hedui, nor consented to conspire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsell, perceiving into what great misery they had brought their country, were fled into Britanie: wherefore, not only the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalf, besought him to vse his clemencie towards them. Cæsar, in regard of the Hedui and Diniatius, promised to receive them to mercy; but so far as much as the State was very great and populous, he demanded six hundred hostages: which, being delivered, and their armour brought out of the towne, he marched fro thence into the east of the Ambiani: who, without further lingering, gaue both themselves & all that they had into his power. Upon these borders the Neruij; of whom Cæsar found this much by inquirie, that there was no recourse of Marchants vnto them, neither did they suffer any wine, or what thing else might tend to riot, to bee brought into their country: for they were perswaded, that by such things their courage was much abated, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned, that these Neruij were a Savage people, and of great valour; often accusing the rest of the Belge, for yielding their necks to the Romaine yoke, openly affirming, that they would neither send Embassadors, nor take peace vpon any condition.

The Ambiani
myeeld up
themselves.

The Neruij,
* Subrener
Namours.

Cæsar, having marched 3 daies iourney in their country, hee understood that the riuer * Sabis was not past ten miles from his campe; and that on the further side of this riuer, all the Neruij were assembled together, and there attended the coming of the Romaine. With them were ioynd the Atrebatij, and Veromandui, whom they had perswaded to abide the same fortune of war with them. Besides, they expected a power from the Aduatici: the women, and such as were vnmeet for the field, they bestowed in a place vnaccessible for any Armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marshes. Upon this intelligence, Cæsar sent his discoverers and Centurions before, to chuse out a fit place to incampe in.

Now, whereas many of the surrendred Belge, and other Galles, were continually in the Romaine Army, certaine of these (as it was afterward known by the captiues) obseruing the order which the Romaines vsed in marching, came by night to the Neruij, and told them, that between euery legion went a great sort of cariages; and that it was no matter of difficulty, as soone as the first legion was come into the camp, & the other legions yet a great way off, to set vpon them vpon a suddaine, before they were disburdened of their cariages, and so to overthrow them: which legion being cut off, and their suffer taken, the rest would haue small courage to stand against them. It much furthered this aduise, that, so far as much as the Neruij were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the cavalry of their borderers, whensoever they made any rode into their marches: their manner was to cut yung trees halfe a funder, and bowing the tops down to the ground, platted the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briars planted between them, they made them so thick, that it was

impossible to see through them, so hard it was to enter or passe through them; so that, when by this occasion, the passage of the Romaine Army must needs be hindered, the Neruij thought the foresaid counsell not to be neglected.

The place which the Romaines chose to incampe in, was a hill, of like leuell from the top to the bottom, as the foot whereof ran the riuer Sabis: & with the like leuel, on the other side, rose another hill directly against this: to the quantity of 200 paces; the bottom whereof was plaine and open, and the vpper part so thick with wood, that it could not easily be looked into. Within these woods the Neruians kept themselves close: and in the open ground, by the riuer side, were onely seene a few troupes of horse, and the riuer in that place, was about three foute deepe.

Cæsar, sending his horsemen before, followed after with all his power; but the manner of his march differed fro the report which was brought to the Neruij: for, inasmuch as the enemy was at hand, Cæsar (as his custome was) led six legions alwaies in a readines, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their Armes: after them he placed the impediments of the vvhole Armie. And the two legions which were last inrolled, were a reuerward to the Army, & guarded the stuffe.

OBSERVATION.



His trecherous practice of the surrendred Belge, hath fortunately discouraged the manner of Cæsars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no small consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, & capable of the greatest art that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may be gathered, that Cæsar principally respected safety: and secondly conueniencie. If the place afforded a secure passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, he was content in regard of conueniency, to suffer euery legion to haue the ouersight of their particular cariages, & to insert them among the troupes, that euery man might haue at hand such necessaries as were requisite, either for their priuate vse or publique discipline. But if he were in danger of any suddaine attempt, or so stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, he then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular vse, as disadvantageous to their safety; & carried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receive the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best approoued by their militarie rules, and the ancient practice of their fortunate progenitors.

The old Romans obserued likewise the same respects: for, in vn safe & suspected places, they carried their troupes *agmine quadrato*, which as Liuius seemeth to note, was free fro all cariages & impediments, which might hinder the in any suddaine alarm. Neither doth that of * Hirtius any way contradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Cæsar did disposed his troupes against the Bellouaci, that 3 legions marched in front, and after them came all the cariages, to the 10 legion serued as a reuerward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato*. * Seneca in like manner noteth the safety of *agmē quadratū*, where he saith, that where an enemy is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, readie to fight.

The manner of
the Romaine
march,

The two re-
spect which
Cæsar had in
ordering a
march.
1 Safety.
2 Conueniency

Agmen qua-
dratum.

* Lib. 8. de
bel. Gall.

* 60. Epistlr.

light. I he most materiall consequence of these places alleadged, is, that as oft as they suspected any onser or charge, their order in a march little or nothing differed from their vñiall manner of imbatailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratū*, or a square march, inasmuch as it kept the same disposition of parts, as were obserued in *quadrata acie*. For, that triple forme of imbatailing which the Romans generally obserued in their fights, hauing respect to the distances between each battell, contained almost an equall dimension of front and file: & so it made *Acie quadratā*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*.

Lib. 6.

Polybius expresteth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumference; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the cariages: for, he saith, that in time of danger, especially where the country was plaine and champaine, and gaue space and free scope to cleere themselves, vpon any accident, the Romans marched in a triple battell, of equall distance one behind another, every battell hauing his feuerall cariages in front. And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselves according to the opportunity of the place, either to the right or left hand: and so placing their cariages on the one side of their Armie, they stood imbatailed, ready to receive the charge.

Agmē longū

The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more securitie, and gaue scope to conueniencie, they named *agmen longum*; when almost euerie maniple or order, had their feuerall cariages attending vpon them, and strove to keep that way which they found most easie, both for themselves, & their impediments. Which order of march, as it was more commodious then the former, in regard of particularity, so was it vn safe and dangerous, where the Enemy was expected; and therefore Cæsar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, whē they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longissimo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertisements from a friend, & not from an enemy.

Lib. 5. de bel. Gallico.

The use that may be made of this, in our modern wars

And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in qualitie, from them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines obserued, as the two poles of their moritions, Safety and Conueniencie: whereof the first dependeth chiefly vpon the prouident disposition of the Leaders; and the other will easily follow on, as the commoditis of every particular shall giue occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can be taken then that manner of imbatailing, which shall be thought most conuenient, if an enemy were present to confront them? for, a well ordered march, must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinct principles and elements thereof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of strength, which the first disposition can afford it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect Leader, that desireth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligent to obserue the nature and vse of each weapon in his Army, how they may be placed for greatest vse and aduantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed; and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbatailing, as the said forces are capable of; which, if it may be obserued in a march, is no way to be altered. But, if this exactnes of imbatailing will not ad-

mit

mit conuenient carriage of such necessarie adiuncts, as pertain to an Army: the inconuenience is to be releued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a way iudgement shall be found expedient: that albeit the forme bee somewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their strength and safety consisteth, may still be retained.

Neither can any man well defend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practices of menie great and experienced commanders; what sort of weapon marched in front, and what in the reterward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the rest of the carriage was bestowed, according as their feuerall iudgements thought most expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the issue of all will fall out thus; that he that obserued this rule before prescribed, did seldom miscarrie through an vn safe march. Let a good Martiallist well know their proper vse in that diuersity of weapons in his Army: how they are seruiceable or disadvantageous, in this or that place, against such or such an Enemy; and he will speedily order his battell, dispose of his march, and bestowe his cariages, as shall best fall out both for his safety, and conueniencie.

Cæsar custome was, to send his Cavalrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to discouer and impeach an Enemy; for these troupes were nimble in motion and fit for such seruices: but if the danger were greater in the reterward then in the front, the horsemen marched in the rayle of the Army, and gaue securitie where there was most cause of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the seruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and especially in Africa against the Numidians: hee then remoued them, as he best found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie soldiers, which were the sinewes and strength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horsemen could not perform. And thus he aliterd the antique prescription, and vñiformitie of custome, according as he found himselfe best able to disaduantage an Enemy, or make waie to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are interrupted by the Neruij. Cæsar maketh haste to prepare his forces to battell.



He Roman horsemen, with the singers and archers, passed ouer the river, and incountred the Cavalry of the Enemy: who at first retired backe to their companies in the wood, & from thence sallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durst not pursue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the sixe legions that were in front, hauing their

Cæsar.

their work measured out vnto them, began to fortifie their camp. But as soon as the Neruij perceiued their former cariages to be come in sight, which was the time appointed amongst them to giue the charge, as they stood imballt with in the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and assaulted the Roman horsemen; which being easily beaten backe, the Neruij ranne downe to the river, with such an incredible swiftnesse, that they seemed at the same instant of time to be in the woods at the river & charging the legions on the other side: For with the same valice, having passed the river, they ran up the hill to the Roman Camp, where the souldiers were buisied in their intrenchment. Caesar had all parts to please at one instant: the flagge to be hung out, by which they gave the souldiers warning to take Arms, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the souldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone far off to get turs & matter for the rampier, to be sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be encouraged, and the signe of battell to be giuen: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the Enemy.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The description of the Roman camp with all the parts belonging vnto it.

The Centurions made choice of the place.

The Prætorium.

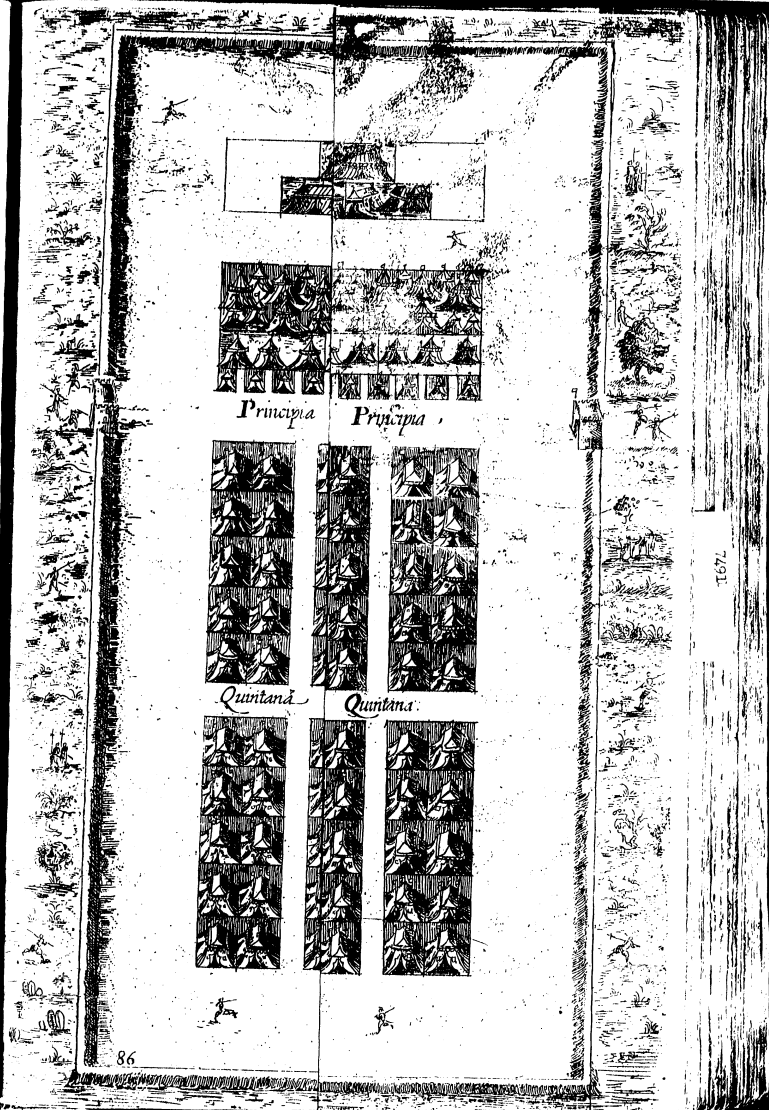
The lodging of the legions.

AS the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their camp-discipline, they stroue to be singular: for it seemed rather an Academie, or a Citie of ciuill government, then a camp of souldiers; so careful were they both for the safety, & skilful experience of their men at Arms. For, touching the first, they neuer suffered their souldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any new inuention or late found out custom in their State, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kings; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

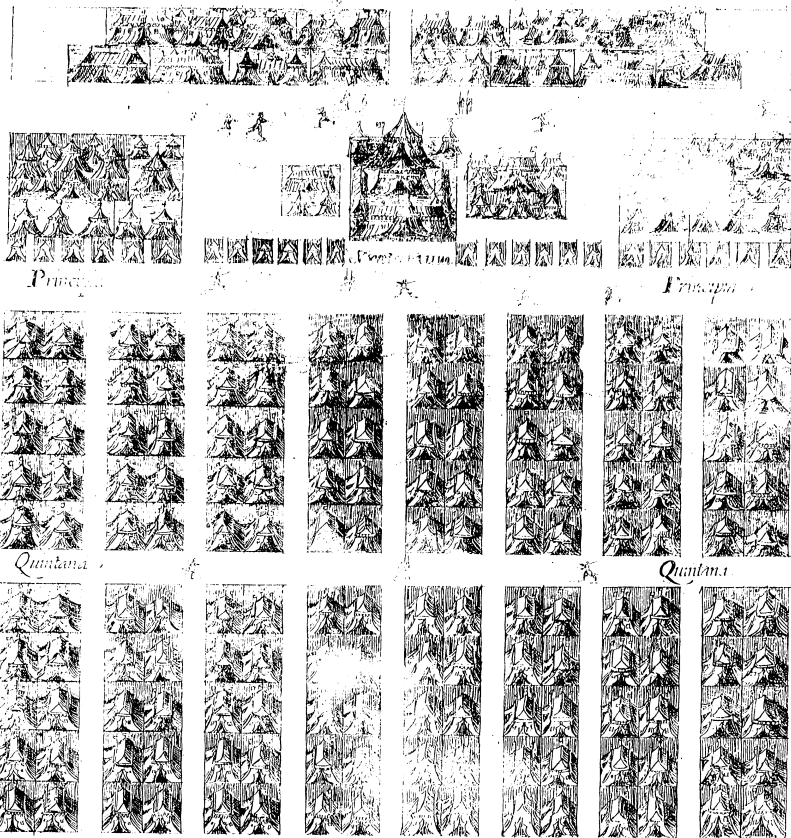
The Centurions, that went before to choole out a conuenient place, hauing found a fit situation for their camp, first assigned the standing for the Emperors pavilion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the camp; from whence he might easily ouerueiw all the other parts, or any allarum or signum pugnae, might from thence bee discovered to all quarters. This pavilion was known by the name of *Prætorium*, for as much as amongst the auncient Romans the Generall of their Army was called *Prætor*: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they stuck vp a white ensign, and from it they measured euery way 100. foot, & so they made a square containing 200. foot in euery side; the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round & high, being as eminent among the other tents, as a Temple is amongst the priuate buildings of a Citie: and therefore Iosephus compareth it to a Church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chair of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Augurale*, with other appendices of maiestic and authority.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the

pa-



Porta Praetoria
THE ROMAINE CAMPT.



Porta Decumana

...the camp, but as soon as
...in sight, which was the
...flood unharmed with
...and assaulted the Roman
...the stream ran down to the river,
...at the same instant of time to
...on the other side: For with
...the hill to the Roman Camp,
...had all parts to
...the soldiers
...of trumpet, the sol-
...were come far off to get out of
...be in-
...which were cut off by

...good customers; to
...to be singular: for, it be-
...then a camp
...experience of their
...the soldiers to lodge
...with ditch and rampart
...found out
...Romans, and in the time
...these circum-

...engagement place, having
...for the Emperors
...place of the camp, from
...or any altar or *signum*
...This pavilion was
...the ancient Romans
...place where the *Praeto-*
...and from it they meditated
...200 foot in circumference
...the forme
...among the other tents,
...and therefore to depus-
...of the

...which side of the
pa-

pavilion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, every legion diuided one from another by a streete or lane of 50. foot in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that every legion had in the Armie, so were they lodged in the campe, either in the midst which was counted most honorable, or towards the sides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe, according to the place of every cohort in his legion, so was it lodged neerer the pavilion of the Emperour, towards the heart of the camp; and so consequently every maniple tooke place in the cohort, distinguishing their preheminance, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outsideward; according as they distinguished the place of their legions: there went a street of fittie in breadth ouerthwart the midst of all the legions, which was called *Quintana*; for that it diuided the fift cohort of every legion from the sixt.

Quintana.

Betweene the tents of the first maniples in euery legion and the *Prætorium*, there went a waie of 100. foote in breadth throughout the whole camp; which was called *Principia*; in this place the Tribunes sate to heare matters of iustice; the souldiers exercised them selues at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publick place of meeting; and it was held for a reuerent and sacred place, and so kept with a correspondent decency. On either side the Emperours pavilion, in a direct line to make euen & straight the vpper side of the *Principia*, the Tribunes had their Tents pitched; euery Tribune confronting the head of the legion wherof hee was Tribune: about them, towards the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treasurers: the vpper part of the camp was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie.

*Principia.**The tents of the Tribunes.*

Polybius describing the manner of incamping, which the Romans vsed in his time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie associates, placeth the *Ablesti* and *extraordinarij*, which were select bandes & companies, in the vpper part of the camp; and the associates on the outside of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compassed the whole camp about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: wherof Polybius giueth these reasons; first, that the souldiers marching into the camp in battell array, might there dissolve themselves into maniples, centuries and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for, order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And again, if occasion were offered to sallie out vpon an Enemie, they might very conveniently in that spacious roome, put themselves into companies and troupes: and if they were assaulted in the night, the darts and fire workes, which the Enemie should cast into their campe, would litle indamage them, by reason of the distance betweene the rampier and the tents.

The space betweene the tents and the rampier.

Their tents were all of skins and hides, held vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11. souldiers, as Vegetius saith, in euery tent, and that societie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefeest was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contubernij*.

Contubernium.

The ditch &
therampier.

The ditch and the rampier were made by the legions, every maniple having his part measured out, and every Centurion overseeing his Centurie; the approbation of the whole work belonged to the Tribunes. Their manner of intrenching was this: the soldiers being girt with their swords & daggers, digged the ditch about the camp, which was alwaies 8. foot in breadth at the least, and as much in depth, casting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not far off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude; according to the discretion of the General: but what standing fouer was kept, the ditch was made *directis lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottom as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch, was three foor in height, and sometimes foure, made after the manner of a wall, with green turtles cut all to one measure, halfe a foot in thickness, a foot in breadth, and a foor and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no such turtles; they then strengthened the loose earth, which was cast out of the ditch, with boughes & fagots, that it might be strong and well fastened. The rampier they properly called *Agger*: the outside whereof, which hung over the ditch, they tied to stick with thicke and sharp stakes, fastened deep in the ground, that they might be firm; and these for the most part were forked stakes: which made the rampier very strong, and not to be assaulted but with great difficulty. Varro saith, that the front of the rampier thus stuck with stakes, was called *vallum*, a *varicando*, for that no man could stride or get over it.

Agger.

Vallum.

Prætoria porta.

Porta Decumana.

Portæ principales.

Leua.

Dextra.

The campe had foure gates: the first was called *prætoria porta*, which was alwaies behind the Empeours tent: and this gate did vntually looke eithertoward the east, or to the Enemy, or that waie that the Army was to march. The gate on the other side of the campe opposit to this, was called *Porta Decumana à decimis cohortibus*; for the tenth or last Cohort of every legion, was lodged to confront this gate: by this gate the soldiers went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their forage; and this waie their off-ndours were carried to execution. The other two gates were called *Portæ principales*, forasmuch as they stood opposit to either end of the so much respected place, which they called *principia*, only distinguished by these titles, *leua*, *principalis*, and *dextra*: all these gates were that with doores, & in standing Camps fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engines of defence, as Balistæ, Catapultæ, Toleonones and such like.

The Romans had their summer Camps, which they tearmed *Aestiva*, and their winter Camps, which they called *hiberna*, or *hibernacula*: their summer camps were in like manner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in them. For, if they remained in a place but a night or two, they called them *Castra* or *Mansiones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called them *Aestivas* or *Sedes*: And these were more absolute, as well in regard of their tents, as of their fortification, then the former, wherein they staid but one night. The other which they called *hiberna*, had great labor & cost bestowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them from the winter season. Of these we read, that the tents were either thatched with straw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hospital, & other publique houses.

Thelc

These camps haue bin the beginning of many famous towns, especially when they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did, vpon the banks of Euphrates, Danow, and the Rhene. The order which they alwaies obserued in laying out their Campe, was so vniforme, and well knowne to the Romans, that when the Centurions had limited out euerie part, and marked it with different ensignes and colours, the Souldiers entered into it, as into a known and familiar Citie: wherein euery societie or small contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euerie particular man could assigne the proper station of euerie company, throughout the whole Armie.

The vie and commoditie of this incamping, I briefly touched in my first booke: But if I were worthy any waie to commend the excellencie thereof to our moderne Souldiers, or able by perswasion to reestablish the vie of incamping in our warres; I woulde spare no paines to achieve so great a good, and vaunt more in the conquest of negligence, than if my felicitie had compassed a new found out meanes: and yet reason would demeine a matter of small difficulty, to gaine a point of such worth, in the opinion of our men, especially when my discourse shall present securitie to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our Armies, & terrour to our enemies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But loth hath such interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and loose hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and detestation of good discipline, to repugne the designs of honour, and so far to outmaister reason, that it suffereth not former harmes to beare witness against error, nor correct the ill achievements of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vige this point any further, I will leaue it to the carefull respect of the wile.

The commodity of this incamping.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He fury of the Enemy, and their sodain assault, to disturbed the ceremonies which the Romans discipline obserued, to make the Soldiers truly apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might call vpon their state either loue-rainy or bondage; that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here noted vnder these titles, the first was *vexillum proponendū*, quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurrerit: for when the General had determined to fight, he caused a skarlet coate or red flag to be hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the Soldiers might be warned, to prepare themselves for the battell; and this was the first warning they had: which by a silent aspect presented blood and execution to their eyes, as the onely meanes to worke out their owne safety, and purchase eternal honour. The second was *signum tubæ dandū*: this warning was a noie of manie trumpets, which they tearmed by the name of *clausium a salando*, which signifieth calling: for after the eye was filled with species suitable to the matter intended; they then halted to possesse the care, and by the sense of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, & fill them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third

The ceremonies which they used in their preparation to battell.

was, *milites cohortandi*: for it was thought convenient to confirme this valor, with motives of reason, which is the strength and perfection of all such motions. The vice and benefit whereof I somewhat enlarged in the Heluetian wars; and could afford much more labour to demonstrate the commodity of this part, if my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or bee thought worthie regard to men so much addicted to their owne fashions. The last was *signum dandum*; which, as some think, was nothing but a word, by which they might distinguish & know themselves from their enemies. Hirtius in the war of Africke saith, that Cæsar gaue the word *Felicitie*; Brutus and Cassius gaue *Libertie*; others haue giuen *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*; & such like words, as might be ominous to a good successe: Besides these particularities, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the matter. And that was distinguished by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth; that all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may be much graced with ceremonies & complements, which like officers or attendants adde much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth far meaneer and of lesse regarde.

CHAP. X.

*The battell betweene Cæsar and the
Neruij.*

Cæsar.

In these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was the knowledge & experience of the souldiers: for by reason of their practice in former battels, they could as well prescribe vnto themselves, what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar had giuen commandment to euery Legate, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, untill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they saw extremitie of danger, they attended no countermand from Cæsar: but ordered all things as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar having commanded such things as he thought necessarie, ranne hastily to encourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion; where he vsed no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemy was no farther off, then a weapon might be cast to encounter them, hee gaue them the signe of battell: and hissing from thence to another quarter, he found them already closed and at the incounter. For the time was so short & the enemy so violent, that they wanted leisure to put on their head peeces, or to vncape their targets: & what part they lighted into from their work or what ensigne they first met withall, there they staid; least in seeking out their

owne

owne companies, they should lose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The army being imbrattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declivity of the hill, & the breuety of time, then according to the rules of art; as the legions incountered the Enemy in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindred by those thicke hedges before spoken of, there could no succors be placed any where; neither could any man see what was needfull to be done: & therefore in so great vncertainty of things, there happened diuers casualties of fortune.

The souldiers of the 9 & 10. legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army, casting their pikes, with the aduantage of the hil, did drine the Attrebatij, breathless with running & wounded in the incounter, down into the riuer; & as they passed ouer the water, slew many of them with their swords: Neither did they stick to follow after them ouer the riuer, & aduance into a place of disaduantage, where the battell being renewed againe by the Enemy, they put them to flight the second time. In like manner two other legions, the 11. & the 8. having put the Peromædus fro the upper ground, fought with them upon the banks of the riuer; and so the front & the left part of the camp was well nere left naked. For in the right corner were the 12. & the 7. legions, where as all the Neruij, vnder the conduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together: & som of them began to assault the legions on the opposite side, & other som to possess themselves of the highest part of the camp.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, & the light armed footmen that were intermingled amongst them, & were at first al put to flight by the Enemy, as they were entering into the camp, met with their enemies in the face, & so were driven to flie out another waie. In like manner the pages & souldiers boies, that fro the Decumane port & top of the hill, had seen the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit ouer the riuer, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and saw the enemy in their camp betook them to their heels as fast as they could. Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treuiri (who for their prowesse were reputed singular amongst the Galls, and were sent thither by their State, to aid the Romanes) first when they perceived the Roman camp to be possessed, by a great multitude of the Enemy, the legions to be overcharged & almost inclosed about, the horsemen, slingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they took their waie homeward & reported to their State, that the Romans were utterly ouerthrowen.

Cæsar departing from the tenth legion, to the right corner, found his men exceedingly overcharged, the ensignes crowded together into one place, & the souldiers of the 12. legio so thick thronged on a heap, that they hindred one another, all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, the ensigne bearer kild and the ensigne taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slain, or sore wounded; amongst who Pub. Suetius Batulus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grievously wounded, that he could scarce stand upon his feet; the rest not very forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile & forsaking the field, the Enemy on the other side, giuing no respite in front, although he fought against the kil nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue without any means or succor, to elieue this: he took a target from one of the hindmost souldiers

(for he himſelf was come thither without one) & preſſing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the reſt, commanded the enſignes to be aduanced toward the enemy, and the Maniples to bee enlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readineſſe uſe their ſwords.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The place
and office of
primipile.



His Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefeſt Centurion of the 12. legion, being the firſt Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarij, that was of the firſt Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greateſt dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or ſimply *Primipilus*, and ſometimes *Primipilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly publiſhed, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the reſt of the Centurions, at all times had an eye vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar enſigne of euery legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple: Neither was this dignitie, without ſpeciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authours. We read further, that it was no diſparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunalitie was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a law made, I know not vpon what occaſion, that no Tribune ſhould afterward be Primipile. But let this ſuffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Target
deſcribed.



And heere I may not omit to giue the Target anie honour I may: and therefore I will take occaſion to deſcribe it in Cæſars hand, as in the place of greateſt dignitie, and much honouring the excellency thereof, Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex ſurface thereof; and the length ſoure foot, of what form or faſhion ſoeuer they were of: for the Romans had two ſorts of Targets amongſt their legionaries; the firſt carried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Oval, a figure of an vnquall latitude, broadest in the midſt, and narrow at both the ends like vnto an egge, deſcribed in *Plano*: the other fort was of an equall latitude, and reſembled the faſhion of a gutter-tile; and thereupon was called *scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one faſtened vpon another, with lint and Bulls glewes; and covered with an Oxen hide, or ſom other ſtiſſe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of iron, to keepe it from cleauings; and in the middeſt there was a boſſe of iron or braſſe, which they called *umbo*. Romulus brought them in firſt among the Romans, taking the vſe of them from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the moſt part either ſallow, alder or figtree: whereof Plinie giueth this reaſon, for as much

Lib. 16. c. 40.

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as theſe trees are colde and wateriſh, and therefore any blow or thruſt that was made vpon the wood, was preſently contracted and ſhut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of ſuch reputation amongſt the Roman Armes, and challenged ſuch intereſt in the greateſt of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the conſideration of the vſe and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderſtood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betwene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to infer it in theſe diſcourſes. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian WEAPONS.

In Promiſed in my fixt booke that I would make a compariſon, betwene the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I woulde likewiſe write of the diſpoſition of either of their Armies; how they do differ one from another: and in what reſpect, the one, or the other, were either interior, or ſuperiour: which promiſe I will now with diligence endeavour to perform. And for as much as the Armies of the Macedonians haue giuen ſo good teſtimonies of themſelves by their actions, by ouercomming the Armies as well of thoſe of Aſia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conquered, as well thoſe of Africa, as all the eſterne countries of Europ: It ſhall not be amiſſe, but very profitable, to ſearch out the difference of either; eſpecially ſeeing that theſe our times haue not once, but many times ſeene triall, both of their battailes & forces; that knowing the reaſon why the Romans do overcome, and in their battaile carry away the better, wee doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the ſame to fortune, and eſteem them without reaſon happy victors; but rather looking into the true cauſes, we giue the their due praifes, according to the direction of reaſon, and found iudgement. Concerning the battailes between Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their loſſe; there is no need that I ſpeak much. For their loſſes are neither to bee imputed to the defect of their Armes, or diſpoſition of their Armies; but to the dexterity and induſtrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entertained thereof when wee made mention of the battels themſelves; and the end it ſelfe of that warre, doth eſpecially confirme this our opinion: for when they had gotten a Capitaine equall with Hanniball, even conſequently withall his victories vaniſhed. And hee had no ſooner overcome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, he trayned his Armie to their weapons: and fo taking them vp in the beginning, hee continued them on vnto the end.

And Pyrrhus in his war againſt the Romans, did vſe both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but not withſtanding, it ſerued him not to get the victory; but alwaies the euent by ſome meanes or other, made the ſarge doubtful: concerning whom it were not vniſit

that

that I should say something, least in being altogether silent, it might seeme to prejudice this mine opinion. But notwithstanding I will hasten to my purposed comparison.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the disposition, and forces proper to it, nothing is able to oppose it selfe against it, or to sustaine the violence thereof; as may easily be by many documents be approved. For when an armed man doth stand firme in the space of three foote in so thicke an arraie of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the first basis, or scantling sixtene foote; but according to the true and right conueniency of them, 14. cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the space betwene the left hand, which supporteth the same, and the butte end thereof, whilst hee stands in a readinesse to attend the incounter: being thus ordered, I saie, it is manifest that the length of teene cubites dooth extend it selfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his hands he doth aduance it ready to charge the Enemy. By which means it followeth, that some of the pikes doe not onely extend themselves before the second, third, and fourth ranke, but some before the formost, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thicknesse, according to his naturall disposition, both on the sides and behinde: as Homer maketh mention when he saith, that one target doth enclose and forsie another; one head-piece is ioined to another, that they may stand vnited and close together.

These circumstances being rightly and truly set downe, it must follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themselves two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betwene themselves: by which may evidently be seene the assault, and impression of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, consisting of 16. ranks in depth, or thicknesse; the excessse of which number of ranks aboue fise. For as much as they cannot commodiously couch their pikes, without the disturbance of the former, the points of them not being long enough to enlarge themselves beyond the formost ranks, they grow vicerly vnprofitable, & cannot man by man, make any impression, or assault: but let us only, by laying their pikes vpon the shoulders of those which stand before them, to sustaine and hold vp the swaies and giuing backs of the former ranks, which stand before them to this end, that the front may stand firme and sure: and with the thicknesse of their pikes they doe repell all those darts, which passing ouer the heads of those that stand before, would annoy those ranks which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe lo presse vpon the former, that they doe make a most violent impression. For it is impossible that the formost ranks should giue back.

This therefore being the generall and particular disposition of the phalanx: we must now speake on the contrarie part, touching the properties &c differences, as well of the Arms, as of the whole disposition of the Roman battell. For euery Roman souldier for himselfe, and his weapon, is allowed three foot to stand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himselfe with his target; and mutually mouing whensoever there is occasion offered.

But

But those which vse their swords, do fight in a more thin and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they haue three foot more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to belly, that they may vse their weapons with the better commodity. And hence it commeth to pass, that one Roman souldier taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: so that one Roman is as it were to oppose himselfe against ten pikes, which pikes the saide one souldier can neither by any agility come to offend, or else at handy blowes otherwise annoy: And those which are behinde him, are not onely vnable to repell their force, but also with conueniency to vse their owne weapons. Whereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any battaile being assaulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper composition.

What then is the cause that the Romans doe overcome, and that those that doe vse the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victory? Euen from hence, that the Roman Armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, where to it may profitably apply it selfe: so that if it were of necessitie, that their enemy should incounter them at that instant, especially with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in all probability likewise, that the phalanx should euer carry away the better. But if that may be avoided, which is easily done: shall not that disposition then, be vicerly vnprofitable, and free from all terror: And it is farther euident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine and champion places, without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hills and riuers: for all these may hinder and disioine it. And it is almost impossible to haue a Plain of the capacity of 20. *stadia*, much lesse more, where there shall bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee found such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the Enemy refuse to come vnto them, and in the mean time, spoile, and sack the Cities, and country round about what commodity, or profit shall arise by any Army so ordered: for, if it remaine in such places, as hath been before spoken of, it can neither relieue their friends, nor preserve themselves. For the conuoyes which they expect from their friends, are easily cut off by the Enemy, whilst they remain in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterprize, they are then expoled to the Enemy. But suppose, that the Roman Army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not aduantage it self in grots at one instant; but would by little and little retire it selfe: as doth plainly appeare by their vidual practice. For there must not be a coniecture of these things by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they doe not so equally frame their battell, that they doe assault the Enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a stand, and part charge the Enemy, that if at any time the Phalanx doe presse them, that come to assault them and bee repelled; the force of their order is dissolued. For whether they pursue those that retire, or fly from those that doe assault them, these doe disioyne themselves.

themselves from part of their Army; by which means there is a gap opened to their Enemies, standing and attending their opportunity: so that now they neede not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consisteth; but to assault where the breach is made, both behinde, and vpon the sides. But if at any time the Romane Army may keepe his due proprietie, and disposition, the phalanx by the disadvantage of the place, being not able to do the like: doth it not then manifestly demonstrate the difference to be great betwene the goodnesse of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx?

To this may be added the necessities imposed vpon an Army: which is, to march through places of all natures, to encamp themselves, to possesse places of advantage, to besiege, & to be besieged; and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in view of the Enemy. For, all these occasions necessarily accompany an Army; and oftentimes are the especiall causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient: forasmuch, as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a conuenient place, they are able to effect any thing of moment: but the Roman Army is apt for all these purposes. For, euery souldiour amongst them, being once armed and ready to fight, resisteth no place, time nor occasion; keeping alwaies the same order, whether he fight together with the whole body of the Army, or particularly by himselfe, man, to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their disposition is advantageous: so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to speak of at large, because manie of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to be overcome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx should be put to the worke by the Roman Army, considering the nature of their weapons.

Thus farre goeth Polybius, in comparing the weapons and imbatailing of the Romans, with the vse of Arms amongst the Macedonians: wherein we see the Pike truly and exactly ordered, according as the wise Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might giue most advantage to the vse thereof: so that if our squadrons of Pikes iumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee see they doe not) they fall so much short of that strength, which the wisdom of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imparted into it. But suppose we could allowe it that disposition, in the course of our warres, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet forasmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the sayd manner of imbatailing is tied to such dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kind of fight: I hold it not so profitable a weapon, as the practice of our times doth seem to make it; especially in woddy countries, such as Ireland is: where the vse is cut off by such inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doublets, if our commanders did but consider of the incongruity of the Pike and Ireland, they would not proportion so great a number of them in euery companie, as there is; for, commonly half the companie are Pikes, which is as much to faile in the practice of our wars, that halfe the Army hath neither

offensive

offensive nor defensive weapons, but only against a troupe of horse. For, they sildome or neuer come to the push of pike, with the foote companies, where they may charge and offend the enemy: and for defence, if the enemy thinke it not safe to buckle with them at hand, but maketh more aduantage, to play vpon them a farre off with shotte; it affordeth small safety to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entertaine a volley of shot, with the body of their battaillon. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach: so I assure my self, there are weapons, if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike, even in those seruices, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the iudgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatsoeuer, as well in regard of the diuers and sundry sorts of imbatailing, as the qualitie of the place wherefoeuer: for, their vse was as effectuell in small bodies and centuries, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thicke and spacious imbatailing, as in thicke thronged Testudines.

Neither could the nature of the place make the vnsemeable; for, whether it were plaine or couert, leuell or vnequall, narrow or large, if there were anie commodity to fight, the target was as necessarie to defend, as the sword to offend: besides the conueniencie, which accompanyeth the target in any necessitie imposed vpon an Armie, whether it be to march through places of all natures, to make a fast march, or a speedy retraite, to incamp themselves, to possesse places of advantage, to besiege and to be besieged, as Polybius saith, with many other occasions which necessarily accompanie an Armie. The vse of this weapon hath been to much neglected in these later ages, but may be happily renewed againe in our Nation, if the industry of such as haue laboured to present it vnto these times, in the best fashion, shall find any fauour in the opinion of our Commanders. Concerning which Target, I must needs say this much, that the light target will proue the target of seruice, whensoever they shall happen to be put in execution: for, those which are made prooue, are lo heauie and vniuersall (although it be somewhat qualified with such helps as are annexed to the vse thereof) that they ouercharge a man, with an vnsupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight disproportionable to his strength. For, our offensive weapons, as namely, the Harquebusers, and Musketiers, are stronger in the offensive part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable & fit for seruice. Neither did the Romans regard the prooue of their target further, then was thought fit for the ready vse of them in time of battaile, as it appeareth in manie places, both in the Ciuill wars, and in these Commentaries: for, a Romaine Pike hath oftentimes dashed through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and fastened the both to the ground: which is more then a Musket can well do: for the bullet commonly resteth in the bodie. And although it may be said; that this was not common, but rather the effect of an extraordinary arme; yet it serueth to proue, that their targets were not prooue to their offensive weapons, whē they were well deliuered, & with good direction. For, I make no doubt, but in their

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battles there were oftentimes some hinderances, which would not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake off: for, in a volley of shotte, wee must not thinke, that all the bullets flie with the same force, & fall with the like hurt; but as Armour of good proofe, will hardly hold out some of them; so slender Armes, and of no proofe, will make good resistance against others. And, to conclude, in a battell or encounter at hand, a man shall meet with more occasions, futing the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then such as wil advantage the heauie Target of proofe, or counteruaile the surplus of waight, which it carrieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vse of this Target of proofe, in some places and in some seruices: which I deny not to those, that desire to be secured from the extremitie of peril. But this falleth out in some places, & in some particular seruices; and hindereth not, but that the vniuersall benefit of this weapon consisteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the most important acacions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the sword of the Targetiers, that according to the practice of the Romaines, it must alwaies hang on the right side; for, carying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot bee that the sword should hang on the left side, but with great trouble and annoiance. And if any man say, that if it hang on the right side, it must be very short; otherwise, it will neuer be readily drawne out: I say, that the sword of the Targetiers, in regard of the vse of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling, when as the Targetier is to commaund the point of his sword within the compasse of his Target, as such as looke into the true vse of this weapon, will easily discover. But let this suffice, concerning the vse of the Pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The Battell continueth, and in the end Cæsar ouercommeth.

Cæsar.



*T*he presence of their Generall, the souldiers conceived some better hopes, and gathering strength and courage againe, when as euery man besirred himselfe in the sight of the Emperour, the brunt of the enemy was a little staied. Cæsar, perceiuing likewise the seventh legion, which stood next vnto him, to be sore overlaid by the enemy, commanded the Tribunes by little and little, to ioyne the two legions together, and so by ioyning back to back, to make two contrary fronts; & being thus secured one by another from feare of being circumuented, they began to make resistance with greater courage. In the mean time, the two legions that were in the reuerward to guard the cariages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were desired by the enemy vpon the toppes of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the Campe of the Neruij, and beholding from the higher ground

ground what was done on the other side of the riuer, sent the tenth legion to help their fellows: who, vnderstanding by the horsemen and Lackies that stode, in what case the matter stood, and in what danger the Campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the haste they possibly could. At whose coming, there happened such an alteration and change of things, that euen such as were sunke downe, through extreame griefe of their wounds, or leaned vpon their Targets, beganne againe to fight afresh; and the Pages and the boies, perceiuing the enemy amazed, ranne vpon them vnarmed, not fearing their weapons.

The horsemen also, striuing with extraordinary valour, to wipe away the dishonour of their former sight, thrust themselves in all places before the legionary souldiers. Howbeit, the Enemy in the utmost perill of their liues, shewed such manhood, that as fast as the foremost of thē were ouerthrowne, the next in place besirred their carcases, and fought vpon their bodies: and these being likewise ouerthrowne, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, possessed themselves of that Mount of dead carcases, as a place of aduantage, and from thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans.

By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of haughtie courage, that durst passe ouer so broad a River, climbe vp such high rocks, & adventure to fight in a place of such inequalitye. The battell being thus ended, and the Nation and name of the Neruij being well nere swallowed vp with destruction, the elder sort, with the women and children, that before the battell, were conuained into Ilands and Bogs; when they heard thereof, sent Embassadors to Cæsar, and yielded themselves to his mercy; and in laying open the misery of their State, affirmed, that of six hundred Senators, they had now left but three; and of sixtie thousand fighting men, there was scarce fwe hundred that were able to beare Armes. Cæsar, that his clemencie might appeare to a distressed people, preserved them with great care, granting vnto them the free possession of their townes and countrie, & straightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATION.



*N*d thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battell, which Ramus complaineth of as a confused narration: much differing from the direct & methodicall stile, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule hold good, which learned Rhetoricians haue obserued in their Oratory; that An vnperfect thing, ought not to be told in a perfect manner: then by Ramus leaue, if any such confusion do appeare, it both saoureth of eloquence, & well fureth the turbulent cariage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to Fortune, & prouidence was swallowed vp with peraduventure. For, that which Hirtius saith of the overthrow hee gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be said of this; that he got the victorie, plurimū adiuuante deorum benignitate, quicū omnibus belli casibus interfuit, sum præcipue ijs quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari.

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For, so it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the same cause, that brought him to that push in the battell with Pharnaces: for, he well understood that the Neruij attended his coming on the other side the river Sabis: Neither was he ignorant how to fortifie his Campe in the face of an enemy, without feare or danger, as we haue seene in his warre with Ariouistus when he marched to the place where hee purpoled to incampe himselfe with three battells, and caused two of them to stand ready in Armes to receiue any charge, which the Enemy should offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the Campe. Which course would easily haue frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard lesse dangerous: but hee little expected any such resolution, so contrarie to the rules of Militarie discipline, that an enemy should not stick to passe ouer so broad a riuer, to clime vp such steep and high Rocks, to aduenture battell in a place so disadvantageous, and to hazard their fortune vpon such inequalities. And therefore, hee little misuisted any such vnlkely attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his own ouerthrow, if the legions had bene ready to receiue them.

Which may teach a Generall, that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a Leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courtes, nor too carefull in his best aduised directions: considering that the greatest means may easily be prevented, and the safest course weakened with an vnexpected circumstance: so powrefull are weak occurrences in the maine course of the weightiest actions: and so infinite are the waies, whereby either wisdom or fortune may work. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might doe, how vnlkely (ouer it might seeme vnto him: as appeareth by that accident in the battell with Pharnaces. Which practice of attempting a thing against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our moderne warres, as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handled sparingly, as no way fauouring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as *Temeritas non semper felix*, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefest helps which the Romaines found, were first the aduantage of the place; where of I spake in the Heluetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which theouldiers had got in the former batailles, which much directed them in this turbulent assault; wherein they caried themselves, as men acquainted with such casualties: lastly, the valour and vndanted iudgement of the Generall, which ouerlaid the perill of the bataille, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherein we may obserue, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the bataille rested vpon his directions, hee wholly intended warinesse and circumspection: so in the hazard and perill of good hap, hee confronted extremitie of danger with extremitie of valour, and ouer-topt furie, with a higher resolution.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatici betake themselves to a strong hold,
and are taken by Cæsar.



HE Aduatici before mentioned, coming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and vnderstanding by the way, of their ouerthrow, returned home againe; and forsaking all the rest of their Townes, and Castles, conuayed themselves and their wealth into one strong and well fortified towne, which was compassed about with mighty rocks and sleepe downefalls, sauing in one place of two hundred foote in breadth; where there was an entry by a gentle and easie ascent: which passage they had fortified, with a double wall of a large altitude, and had placed mighty great stones & sharp beames vpon the walles, ready for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbri and Teutoni who, in their iourney into Italie, had left such carriages on this side of the Rhene, as they could not conveniently take along with them, in the custodie of these forces: who, after the death of their fellows, being many yeeres disquieted by their neighbours, sometimes invading other States, and sometimes defending themselves, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle themselves in.

At the first coming of the Romaine Armie, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cæsar had drawn a rampier about the towne, of twelue foote in height, fifteene miles in compasse, & had fortified it with Castles very thick about the towne, they kept themselves within the wall. And, as they beheld the Rimes framed, the Mount raised, & a towre in building as farre off, at first they beganne to laugh at it; and with scoffing speeches from the wall, began to aske, with what hands, & with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men in respect of the Gallies) a towre of that huge massie weight should be brought vnto the walles? But, when they saw it removed, and approaching neere vnto the towne (as men astonished at the strange and vnaccustomed sight thereof) they sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to intreat a peace, with this message: They believed that the Romaines did not make war, without the speciall assistance of the Gods, that could with such facility transport engines of that height, and bring the to encounter at hand, against the strongest part of their towne: and therefore, they submitted both themselves, & all that they had, to Cæsars mercy; desiring one thing of his meeke clemencie, that hee would not take away their Armes: forasmuch as all their neighbours were enemies vnto them, and enuied at their valour; neither were they able to defend themselves, if they should deliuer up their Armour: so that they had rather suffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butchered by them, whom in former time they had held subiect to their command.

Cæsar.
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K 3.

To

To thus Cæsar answered; that he would save the City rather of his owne shame, then for any desert of theirs: so that they yielded before the Ram touched the wall: but no condition of remedy should be accepted, without present deliverie of their Armes for, he would doe by them as he had done by the Neruij, and give commendement to their neighbours, that they should offer no wrong to such, as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answer being returned to the City, they seemed contented to doe whatsoeuer he commanded them: and thereupon, casting a great part of their Armour over the wall, into the ditch, inasmuch as they fild it almost to the toppe of the rampier; and yet (as after ward was knowen) concealing the third part, they set open the gates, & for that day carried themselves peaceably. Towards night, Cæsar commanded the gates to be shut, and the souldiours to be drawne out of the towne. But the Aduaticij, having consulted together before (so far as much as they beliened, that upon their submission, the Romaines would either set no watch at all, or at the least, keepe it verie careleslie) partly with such Armour as they had retained, and partly with targets, made of barke, or wrought of wicker, which vpon the souldaine they had covered over with Leather, about the third watch, where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest, they issued suddenly out of the towne with all their power: but signification thereof being given by fires, as Cæsar had commanded, the Romaines hysted speedily to that place. The Enemy fought verie desperately, as men in the last hope of their welfare, incountering the Romaines in a place of disadvantage: at length, with the slaughter of foure thousand, the rest were driven backe into the towne. The next day, when Cæsar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he sent in his souldiers, and sold all the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne, amounted to fiftie three thousand bondslaves.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Circumvallatio.

IN the surpris, attempted by the Belge vpon Bibract. I set down the manner, which both the Galles and the Romaines vsed in their souldaine surprisling of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any advantage in the course of war) they then prepared for the siege, in that manner, as Cæsar hath described in this place. They inuironed the towne about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the said rampier, with many Castles and Fortresses, erected in a convenient distance one from another; and so they kept the towne from any forraigne succour or reliefe: & with all, secured themselves from sallies, or other stratagems, which the townsmen might practice against them. And this manner of siege was called *circumvallatio*; the particular description whereof, I referre vnto the historie of Aleſia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there set downe by Cæsar.

In the seventh Commentarie.

THR

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Ram, which Cæsar here mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and held that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruuius doth attribute the inuention thereof to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit instrument to raze and overthrowe a Castle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their Armes and Shoulders, with the one end thereof, they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones: and so descending by degrees, they overthrowed the whole towre. The Romaines had two sorts of Rams, the one was rude and plaine: the other artificiall & compounded: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vsed at Cadiz, and is purtrayed in the column of Traian at Rome.

Artes, or the Ramme.

Calei.

Artes simplex.

Artes compoſita.

The compound Ramme is thus described by Iosephus; A Ramme, saith he, is a mightie great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthened at one end, with a head of iron, fashioned like vnto a Ramme, and thereof it took the name. This Ram is hanged by the middelt with ropes vnto another beame, which lieth crosse a couple of pillars: and hanging thus equally balanced, it is by force of men thrust forward, and recoiled backward; and so beareth vpon the wall with his iron head: neither is there any towre so strong, or wall so broad, that is able to stand before it.

The length of this Ram was of a large canting; for, Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian war, had a Ramme fourescore foote long. And Vitruuius saith, that the length of a Ramme was vsually one hundred and fixe, and sometimes one hundred and twentie; and this length gaue great strength and force to the engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of souldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus saith, that Titus, at the siege of Ierusalem, had a ramme for every legion: it was oftentimes covered with a Vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more safetie. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not presume of any acceptance of rendry; forasmuch as by their obstinacie, they had brought in perill the liues of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affordeth such mercie as the Victor pleaseth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He Aduaticij, as it seemeth, were not ignorant of the small securitie which one State can giue vnto another, that commendeth their safetie to be protected by it: for, as Archiras the Pythagorian saith, A bodie, a familie, and an Arme, are then well gouerned, when they containe within themselves the causes of their safetie: So we must not looke for anie securitie in a State, when their safetie dependeth vpon a forraigne protection.

protection. For, the old saying is, that *Neque murus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem propria arma non texere*. Although in this case the matter was well qualified, by the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia; whereof the Hedui with their associates, were very gainfull winnethes: but amongst kingdoms, that are better suted with equalitie of strength and authoritie, there is small hope of safetie to be looked for, vnlesse the happy government of both doe mutually depend vpon the safetie of eieher Nation. For, that which Polybius obserued in Antigonus, king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; that Kings by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemy, but as the calculation of profit shall find them answerable to their projects. And contrariwise, it cutteth off many occasions of practices and attempts, when it is knowne that a State is of it selfe able and ready to resist the designses of forraine enemies, according to that of Manlius; *Offendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.*

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

To give notice of an Alarm by fire.



He manner of signifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great vñe in the night season, where the fortification was of so large an extension: for, fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeede it is; forasmuch as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereof, in a reasonable distance, cannot be discerned from the fire it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance. And contrariwise, in the day time it sheweth lesse then it is; for, the cleare brightnesse of the aire, doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall body: and therefore their custome was to vñe fire in the night, and smoke in the day, suting the transparent middle with a contrarie qualitie; that so it might more manifestly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

Lib. 25.

The punishments which the Romans laid vpon a conquered Nation.



And albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted diuers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemy; yet as Flavius Lucanus saith in Liuius, there was no Nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romans were. The punishments which we find them to haue vsed towards a conquered Nation were these; either they punished them by death, or sold them for bondslaves, *sub corona*, or dismissed them *sub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie States.

Of the first we find a manifest example, in the third of these Commentaries; where Cæsar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by sea, in as much as they had retained his Embassadors by force, contrarie to the law of Nations, hee put all the Senate to the sword, and sold the rest *sub corona*.

Festus

Festus saith, that an enemy was said to be sold *sub corona*, inasmuch as the captiues stood crowned in the Market-place, where they were sette out to sale: as Cato saith, in his booke *De re militari*, *ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus, supplicatum eat; quam re male gesta coronatus vaneat*. And Gellius affirmeth the same thing, but addeth also another reason, forasmuch as the souldiers that kept them while they were in selling, incircled them round about, to keep them together; and this round-about-standing, was called *corona*. Festus saith, that oftentimes they vsed a speare; and therefore they were said to be sold *sub hasta*: forasmuch as amongst the Greeks, by the speare or pike, was signified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

When they dismissed them *sub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallows, vnder which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a signe of bondage: for, they had to conquered them by force of Armes, that they laid vpon their neck the yoke of thraldome.

Liuius saith, that Quintus the Dictator, dismissed the *Aequos sub iugum*; & this *iugum* was made of three speares, whereof two were stuck vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The souldiers that passed *sub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus saith.

Sometimes againe, they tooke away their lands and territories, and either sold it for money, & brought it into the Treasure, or diuided the land amongst the Romaine people, or let it out to farme rent: of all which, Liuius hath many pregnant examples.

CHAP. XIII.

Crassus taketh in all the maritime Citties that lie to the Ocean: the legions are caried into their wintering Campes.



HE same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritime Citties that lay to the Ocean, aduertised him, that all those States had yielded themselves to the people of Rome. The warres being thus ended, and all Gallia being settled in peace, there went such a fame of this warre among other barbarous people, that ffrom Nations beyond the Rhene, there came Embassadors to Cæsar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoeuer he commanded them. But Cæsar willed them to repaire vnto him againe in the beginning of the next Sommer, forasmuch as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after hee had placed his legions in their wintering Campes. For these things, vpon the sight of Cæsars Letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for fiftene daies together: which honour before that time had happened to no man. and thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Cæsar.

Of this supplication I will speake in the latter end of the 4. booke.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CÆSAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

His Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former Sommer; wherein the Belgæ had so leane a harvest: and then it proceedeth to the warre betwene Cæsar and the Veneti; Crassus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curiosolitæ; and Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, beeing sent to cleere the passage of the *Alpes*, was besieged by the *Seduni* and *Veragri*.

Cæsar.

CÆSAR, taking his journey into Italie, sent Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horsemen unto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whose territories are extended from the river Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, unto the tops of the highest *Alpes*. The end of this voyage was chiefe-ly to cleere the *Alpes* of thieves & robbers, that lived by the spoile of passengers, that trauielled betwene Italie and Gallia. Galba, hauing order if he found it expedient, to winter in those parts, after some fortunate encounters, and the taking of some Castles and holds, he concluded a peace, and resolved to place two cohorts of his legion amongst the Nantuates; and himselfe to winter with the other cohorts, in a towne of the Veragri, named Ocodurus. This towne beeing sited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mighty high hills, was diuided by a river into two parts, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he chose for his wintering Campe, and fortified it about with a ditch & a rampier. After he had spent many daies of wintering, and giuen order, that corne should be brought thither for provision; he had intelligence vpon a sudden, that the Galles in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted vnto them; and that the hills which hung ouer the valley, wherein the towne stood, were possesed with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reasons of this suddaine commotion, were chiefly the paucitie of the Romaine forces,

forces, not making a copious legion; forasmuch as two cohorts wintered amongst the Nantuates: besides many particulars, that were wanting vpon necessary occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselves, the place afforded such aduantage, that they were perswaded by reason of the steepe declinitie of the hill, that the Romaines would not indure the brunt of the first assault: besides this, it grieved them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, vnder the title of hostages; and the *Alpes*, which Nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as boundes betwene two large kindomes, to be seized vpon by the Romaine legions, and vntied to their Prouince.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba, not hauing as yet finished the fortification of his Campe, nor made prouision of Corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendry: hee presently called a Councell of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken. In which Councell, the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terror of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hills pestered with armed souldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the Enemy, & no hope left of any succour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other way for their safetie, then leauing behind them their baggage & impediments; to sallie out of their Campe, and so to saue themselves by the same way they came thither: notwithstanding the greater part concluded, to referre that resolution to the last push, and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the euent, and defend the Campe.

OBSERVATION.

WHich aduise, although at this time sorted to small effect; yet it better suited the valour of the Romaines, and fauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakenesse of their minds, by their ouer-hastie and too forward resolution. For, as it imported greater danger, and discovered a more desperate spirit, to breake through the thickest troopes of their enemies, and so by strong hand to saue themselves by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater apprehension of terrour, and a stronger impression of feare, which can afford nothing but desperate remedies: for, desperate and inconsiderate rashness, riseth sooner of feare, then of any other passion of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a lesse troubled eye, and qualified the terrour of death with the life of their spirit, refering extremitie of helpe to extremitie of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterprize the enemy should attempt; they I say, so gaue greater scope to Fortune, & enlarged the bounds of changing accidents.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The enemy setteth vpon the wintering Camp:
Galba overthroweth them.

Cæsar.

WHE Councell being dismissed, they had scarce time to put in execution such things, as were agreed vpon for their defence: but the enemy, at a watch-word given, assaulted the Campe on all sides, with stones and darts, & other casting weapons. The Romans, at first, when their strength was fresh, valiantly resisted the brunt of the charges; neither did they spend in vaine any weapon which they cast fro the rampier; but what part soeuer of their Campe seemed to be in greatest danger, & want of help, thither they came with succour and reliefe; but herein they were over-matched: for, the enemy being spent and wearied with fight, when soeuer any of them gaue place and forsooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combatants to supply it. But the Romans, by reason of their small number, had no such helpe: for their extremitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither for weariness nor wounds, to forsake his station, or abandon his charge. And, hauing thus fought continually the space of six houres, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enemy persisting with greater furie to fill the ditch, and breake downe the rampier, and their hopes relying vpon the last expectation, P. Sex. Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, whom we said to bee so fore wounded in the Neruian battell, and Caius Volusenus, Tribune of the souldiers, a man of singular courage and wisdom, ran speedily to Galba and told him, that the onely way of safetie was to breake out vpon the enemy, and to try the last refuge in that extremitie. Whereupon, they called the Centurions, and by them admonished the souldiers to surceasse awhile from fighting, and onely to receive such weapons as were cast into the Campe; and so to rest the selues a little & recover their strength: and then at a watch-word, to sallie out of their Campe, and lay their safetie vpon their vertue. Which the souldiers executed with such alacritie and courage of spirit, that breaking out at all the gates of the Camp, they gaue no leisure to the enemy to consider what was done, nor to satisfie his iudgement touching so vnexpected a noueltie. And thus Fortune beeing suddenly changed, they slew more then the third part of thirtie thousand, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to stay vpon the hills neere about them.

OBSERVATION.

The force of noueltie, turning the fortune of a battell.

WHigh strange alteration, liuely describeth the force of noueltie, & the effectuall power of vnexpected adventures: for, in the first course of their proceeding, whererein the Romaines defended the Campe, & the Gallies charged it by assault, the victory held constant with the Gallies, & threatened death & mortality to the Romans.

mans. Neither had they any meanes to recouer hope of better successe, but by trying another way, which so much the more amazed the Galls, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victory, by a set fight continuing the space of 6. houres, without any likelihood of contrariety, or alteration. Which practice, of frustrating a desigine intended, by an indirect and contrary answer, serued the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as besides this present example, in this Commentary we shal afterwarde read, how Titurius Sabinus defeated the Vnellos, with the same stratagem; and ouerthrow them by eruption & falling out, when they expected nothing but a defensefull resistance from the rampier. From whence a Commander may learn, to auoid two contrarie inconueniencies, according as the qualitie of the war (shall offer occasion: first (if other things be answerable, which a iudicious eye wil easily discouer) that a sally made out at diuers ports of a hold, wil much mitigate the heat of a charge, and controule the fury of an Enemy. And on the other side, he that beliegeth any place, whar aduantage soeuer he hath of the defendant, may much better assure himself of good fortune, if he appoint certain troupes in readines to receive the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are busily employed in the assault may prouide to answere it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Galls had taken, they had not in likelihood so often been deceived.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Vnelli
giue occasion of a newe warre.

WHE Enemy being thus defeated, Galba was unwilling to trie fortune any further: and the rather for that he wanted both corn & forrage: and therefore hauing burned the towne, the next day he returned towards the Prouince, and without let or resistance brought the legion safe into the Rhantwaters, and from thence to the * Allobroge, and there he wintered.

After these things were dispatched: Cæsar supposing for many reasons, that al Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of any new war the Belgæ being overthrowen, the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni among the Alps subdued & vanquished; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, hauing a great desire to see those nations: there grew a sudden tumult and dissension in Gallia vpon this occasion. Pub. Crassus wintering with the seventh legion in Anion neare vnto the Ocean, and finding scarcity of corn in those parts, he sent out the Prefects of the horsemen and Tribunes, into the next cities to demand corn, and other prouisions for his legion: of whom Titus Terrasidius was sent vnto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebinius to the * Curioslita, Q. Velanius, & Titus Silius to the * Veneti. These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritime nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of shipping.

Cæsar.

* Sauciois.

* Le Perche
Cornouille,
in Britaine.
* Vannes.

ping, with which they did trafficke in Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour States in skil and experience of sea-faring matters; hauing the most part of such, as vsed these seas, tributaries to their State: These Veneti first aduentured to re-taine Silius & Pelanius, hoping thereby to recover their hostages which they had giuen to Crassus. The finitimate Cities induced by their authority & exāple, for the same reason, laide hold vpon Trebius & Terasidius; and sending speedy ambassages one vnto another, conuired by their princes and chiefeſt magistrates, to approue their fact by common consent, and to attend all the same euent of fortune, soliciting also other cities and States, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had receiued of their Ancestors, then to indure the seruile bondage of a stranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The weakneſſe
four iudgement
ward of the
knowledge of
future times



He circumstance in this history, which noteth the sudden breaking out of warres, when the course of things made promise of peace; sheweth first, what small assurance our reason hath of her discourse in calculating the natuſe of *After chances*; which so seldome answer the iudgement we giue vpon their beginnings, that when we speak of happiness, we find nothing but miserie; and contrariwise, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruell, if when almost all nations are at odds, and in our best conceits, threaten destruction one to another, there happen a sudden motion of peace: or if peace be in speech, soothing the world with pleasing tranquillitie, & through the vncertaintie of our weak probabilities, promise much rest after many troubles; there follow greater wars in the end, then the former time can truly speak of. Which being well vnderstood, may humble the spirits of our hauty politicians, that think to comprehend the conclusions of future times, vnder the premises of their weak proiects, and predetermine succeeding ages, according to the course of the present motion: when an accident so little thought of, shall break the maine streame of our iudgement, and falsifie the Oracles which our vnderstanding hath vttered. And it may learne them with all, how much it importeth a wise commander, to prevent an euill that may crosse his desigine, (how unlikely soeuer it be to happen) by handling it in such manner, as though it were necessarily to confront the same. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it selfe both the causes of his being; and the direct means to resist the repugnancie of a contrary nature: and so hap what will, it hath great possibility to continue the same.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



His practice of the Veneti may instruct a circumspect Prince in cases of this nature, to haue a more watchfull eye ouer that Prouince or city, which shall be found most potent and mighty amongst the rest, then of

of any other interiore State of the same nature and condition: for, as example of it selfe is of great authoritie, making improbabilities seem full of reason, especially when the intention shall sympathize with our will; so when it shall happen to be strengthened with powerfull means, and graced with the Act of superiour personages: it must needs be very effectual to stir vp mens minds, to approue that with a strong affection, which their own single iudgement did not way allow of. And therefore equality bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which difference cannot afford, that albeit example doe set on foote any rebellious motion, yet no supereminencie shall authorize the same.

The Author-
ity of exāple

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar hauing aduertisement of these new troubles; hasteth into Gallia, and prepareth for the WARRE.



Let the maritime States being by this meanes drawn in to the same conspiracy, they sent a comon ambassage vnto Crassus; that if he would haue his men againe, he must deliuer up the hostages, which he had taken from them. Whereof Cæsar being certified by Crassus, in as much as hee was then a great way distant from from his Army, he commanded Gallies and ships of warre to be built vpon the river *Loier, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallie-men, Mariners, and Ship-masters should be mustered in the Prouince: which being speedily dispatched, as soone as the time of the yeare would permit him he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the rest of the confederacie, vnderstanding of Cæsars arriuall, and considering how sinuous a fact they had committed, in detaining the Ambassadors & casting them into yrons, whose name is held sacred & inuiolable amongst all nations: prepared accordingly to answer so eminent a danger, & especially such necessities, as pertained to shipping & sea-fights.

Cæsar.

*Loier.

THE OBSERVATION.



From hence I may take occasion, briefly to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, how barbarous soeuer, haue generally conceived of the qualitie & condition of Ambassadors: and what the grounds are of this vniuersall received custome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authentically. And first we are to vnderstand, that all mankind (as indued with the same nature and properties) are to be linked together in the strict alliance of humane societie, that, albeit their turbulent and disagreeing passions (which in themselves are vnnatural, as proceeding from corruption

The ground
of that reue-
rent opinion
which is helde
of Ambassa-
dors.

ruption and defect) drive them into extreame discord, & disunion of spirit, and break the bonds of ciuill conuerlation, which otherwise we do naturally affect: yet without a necessary entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discorde it selfe, in teares of reason and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with disordered confusion & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bonds of Nature, and so powerfull are the laws which she enacteth. And therefore if it were for no other end, which might sort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vices thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it from falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reason of nations hath made a law, ought as religiously to be obserued, as an Oracle of our owne belief. Secondly, for as much as the end of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may seem so barbarous, as to maintain a warre, which onely intendeth blood, and propoeth as the chiefeest object, the death and mortallitie of mankind, no way respecting peace and ciuill government: such as refuse the entercourse of messengers, as the means of amity and concord, are iustly condemned in the iudgement of all nations, as unworthy of humane societie. Last of all, it is an iniury of great dishonour, and de serueth the reward of extreame infamy, to reuenge the master his quarrell vpon a seruant, and punish Ambassadors for the faults of their State: considering that their chiefeest duty consisteth in the faithfull relation of such mandates, as they haue received: which may as well tend to the aduancement and honour of that Citie, to which they are sent; as to the dishonour and ruine of the same, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therefore whether we desire war or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of Ambassadors, is reuerently to be respected and defended from brutish and vnnatural violence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the entrance of this Warre.

Cæsar.



He Veneti conceiued great hope of their enterprize, by reason of the strength of their situation: for as much as all the passages by land were broken and cut off, with arms and creekes of the seas; and on the other side, navigation and entrance by sea was so troublesome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether vnacquainted with the channells and belues of the coast. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie could long continue there without corne, which was not to be had in those quarters. And

if

if it happened, that the course of things were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themselves were strong in shipping; whereas the Romans had none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and shallows, Ports and Islands of that coast, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they should find the use of Navigation in that narrow sea, to be farre different from that, which they were accustomed vnto, in the vast and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their towne, stored them with provision, & brought all their shipping vnto Vannes, against whom, Cæsar (as it was reported) would begin to make war, taking the Olympe, Lexouy, Rannetes, Ambinartiti, Morini, Menapij, Diablintres, as consorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithstanding these difficulties, many motives stirred vp Cæsar to vnder take this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yeelded themselves by renary, and giuen hostages of their loialtie: the conspiracie of so many Cities, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and States to the like insolvency. And therefore vnderstanding, that almost all the Gallies were inclining to nonelty & alteration, and of their own nature, were quick & ready to vnder take a war; and further, considering that all men by nature desired liberty, and hated the seruite condition of bondage: hee prevented all further surrections of the other States, with the presence of the Roman forces: and sent Titus Labienus with the Cavalrie, vnto the Treuiri, that bordered vpon the Rhene to him be gable in charge, to visit the men of Rhemes & the rest of the Belge, to keep them in obedience: and to hinder such forces, as might peradventure be transported ouer the riuer by the Germans, to further this rebellious humor of the Gallies. He commanded likewise Pub Crassus, with 12. legionarie cohorts and a great part of the horse to go into Aquitaine, least there might come any aide from those nations. He sent also Titus Sabinus with three legions vnto the Lexouy, Curio solita, Pnelli, to disappoint any practice which rebellious minds might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gave him in charge, to make towards Vannes, with what prede he could: and bee himself marched thitherward with the rest of the foot forces.

*Leन्द्रigner.
Olympe.
Vannes.
Aurenche.
Lecondou.
Cities in Britaine.*

* Treiri.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN the first booke, I obserued the authority which the Roman Leaders had to vnder take a war, without further acquainting the Senat with the consequence thereof: in this place, let vs obserue the care and circumspection, which the Generalls had, not to vnder take a troublesome and dangerous warre vpon a humor, or any other slender motion: but diligently waighing the circumstances thereof, and measuring the perill & hazard of the warre, with the good and consequence of the effect; informed their iudgements of the importance of that action: and so tried whether the benefit would answer their labor. And thus we find the reasons particularly deliuered, that moued Cæsar first to vnder take the Heluetian warre: and then the causes, which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouillus: then followeth the

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necessity of that warre with the Belgæ; and now the motives which induced him to this with the maritime Cities of Brittain; and so consequently of his passage into Germany, or what other enterprise he attempted: which he lieth downe as the grounds and occasions of those wars, & could not be avoided but with the losse and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs observe the means he vied to prevent the inclination of the Gallies, & to keep them in subjection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into diuers quarters of that Continent; & so settling the waiting disposition of the further skirts, with the weight of his Army, and the presence of his legionary soldiers, which he sent ready to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not break out to the prejudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successe of his proceedings: besides the advantage, which he gained in the opinion of the Enemy; whom he so little feared concerning the yphor of that quarrel, that he had dispensed the greatest part of his Army vpon other seruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of their shipping, and their Sea-fight.



Cæsar.

The site of almost all these Cities was such, that being built in points and promontories, they could not at full sea, which happened alwaies twice in 12. houres, be approached by foot-forces, nor yet with shipping neirther; for, againe in an ebbe, the vessels were laid on the ground, and so left as a prey to the Enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea with mounts which they raised equall to the walls of the towne, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townsmen hauing such store of shipping, would easily conuey both themselues & their carriages, into the next towns, and there helpe themselues with the like advantage of place. And thus they deluded Cæsar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleet by reason of continuall windes and foule weather, durst not adventure to put out of the riuer Loier into so vast a sea, wherein the hauens and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, & the tides great. The shipping of the Gallies was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Romans shipping, the better to beare the ebbes, and shallowes of that coast: the fore-deck was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugeness of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were altogether built for strength: for the ribbes and seats were made of beams of a foot square, fastned with yron pinnes of an inch thicke: in steade of cables, they used chaines of yron; and raw hides and skins for sailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant

of

of the use thereof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serue to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman navy, with this kind of ships was such, that they only excelled them in celerity and speedy nimbleness with force of oars: but in all other things, either concerning the nature of the place, or the dangers of the foule weather, were far inferior vnto them: for the strength of them was such that they could neither hurt them with their beak-heads, nor cast a weapon to any purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if any gust chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselves to the mercy of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safety shelter it selfe amongst flats and shallowes, without feare of rockes or any such hazard: of all which chaunces the Roman navy stood continually in danger.

OBSERVATION.



And here, let it not seem impertinent to the argument which we handle, considering the general vse which we Insulars haue of navigation, briefly to set down the most eminent causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, as farre forth as shall seem necessary to the knowledge of a souldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this great secret; yet for as much as they stand for true principles of regularitie, and well approved rules in our Art of navigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they effect, and giue them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heavens: that albeit their chiefeft essence consisteth in conceit and supposal; yet for as much as they serue to direct our knowledge to a certaintie, in that variety and seeming inconstancy of motion, we esteeme of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Considering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right sphere (for in that position, the Naturalists chiefly vnderstand celestiall influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is diuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the first quarter is that, betwene the east horizon and the noone meridian, which they call a flowing quarter: the second fro the noon meridian, to the west horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the west horizon to the midnight meridian, which they likewise call a flowing quarter: and again, from the midnight meridian to the east horizon, the second ebbing quarter: And so they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these sensible qualities, and contrary effectes, are the sunne and the moone, as they are caried through their distinct parts of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moone to be of greater power in watric motions; yet wee may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the sunne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that when the moon or the sunne begin

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The causes of the ebbing & flowing of the Sea.

to appeare above the right horizon, & enter into that part of the heauen which I termed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea beginneth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; so it increaseth untill it come to a high flood. And again, as those lights passing the meridian, decline to the west, and run the circuit of the ebbing quarter: so the water decreaseth & returneth again from whence it came. Again, as they set vnder the west horizon, & enter into the second flowing quarter; so the sea beginneth again to flowe, and still encreaseth untill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then again, it refloweth, according as the sun & moon are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the west horizon.

Spring-tides.

And hence it happeneth that in coniunction or new of the moon, when the sun & the moon are carried both together in the same flowing, & ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebs are very great: and likewise in opposition or full of the moon, when these lights are carried in opposite quarters, which we haue described to bee of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: forasmuch as both these Planets, through the symbolizing quarters wherein they are carried, do ioyne their forces to make perfect this work of Nature in the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. And contrariwise, in a quadrat aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moon is carried in a flowing quarter; and at the same instant, the sun doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of Nature dooth necessarily require: then are the tides lessened, as daily experience doth witness.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, diuide euerie diurnall circle, which either the sun or the moon maketh in their revolutions, into equal parts; it followeth that euery tide is continually measured with the quantity of 6. houres: and therefore that which Cæsar here saith, must needs be true, that in the space of 12. houres, there are alwaies 2. high tides. And least any man should imagine, that euery inland City standing vpon an ebbing and flowing riuer, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderstand, that this which I haue deliuered, is to be conceived principally of the sea it self; and secondarily of such ports and hauens, as stand either neer or vpon the sea: but where a riuer shall run many miles from the sea, and make many winding Meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought convenient to insert in these discourses touching the ebbing & flowing of the sea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

The manner of their shipping.

Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath only receiued the bare names, and some few circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critiques of these times haue laboured to set forth a fleet, answerable to that, which the treatise and title mentioned in history seeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answer their charge. For, many men reit vn-satisfied, first touching the names themselves, whereof we find these kindes.

Names

Names
Longas.
Onerarias.
Althuaras.
Triremes.
Quadriremes.
Quinqueremes.

The first we may vnderstand to be Gallies or ships of seruice: the second, ships of burthen: the third, ships that were driuen forward with force of oares, and the rest founding according to their Names; for, I dare not intide them with a more particular description. Now whether these Names *Longas* and *Althuaras*, were a seuerall sort of shipping by themselves; or the generall Names of the *Quadriremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, for as much as euerie kinde of these might be called both *Longas* and *Althuaras*, as it yet remaineth in controuersie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea Critiques, is in what sense they may vnderstand these vocabularies, *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, & *Quinqueremes*, whether they were so termed in regard of the number of rowers, or water-men that haied continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either side, a *Quadrirème* foure, and a *Quinquerème* fise: whereof they tooke their distinction of Names.

Lib. 27

Such as hold, that a *Trireme* had on each side three ranks of oares, and so consequently, of a *Quadrirème* and *Quinquerème*; allage this place of Liuie, to make good their opinion. In the warres between Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Aldrabal in the Straights of Gibraltar, each of them had a *Quinquerème*, & scauen or eight *Triremes* apiece: the current in that place was so great that it gaue no place to Art, but carried the vessels according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertainty, the *Triremes* of the Carthaginian closed with the *Quinquerème* of Lælius: which either becaue these were ponderous tenacious, as Liuie saith; or otherwise, for that *pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus verticibus facilius reueretur*; in regarde of the pluralitie of banks of oares, which resisted the billow and steamed the current, the sence two of the *Triremes*, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquerème* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therefore it took the name from the pluralitie of banks of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare.

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo remorum*, to bee a couple of oares one answering another, on each side of the vessell, which wee call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquerème* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, & those oares were handled with fise men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of sea-fights, wee must vnderstand that the Romans, wanting the vse of Arillerie and managing their ships of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vse of their Art, in their conflicts and encounters by sea: for, all their shippes of seruice, which we tearme

The manner of sea-fights.

men of warre, carried a strong beake-head of yron, which they called *rostrum*, with which they ranne one against another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Art gaue great aduantage; for, he that could best skill to turne his ship, with greatest celerity, and to frustrate an offer; or with speedy & strong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly got the victory.

*Lib. 2. de bel-
lo civil.*

In the battell which D. Brutus had with the Massilians, we read that two Triremes charging the Admirall wherein Brutus was, one at the one side, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Mariners so cunningly handled the matter, that when they should come to the hurt, they speedily in a trice of time, wound themselves from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with such a carriere one against another, that one brake her beake-head, and the other split with the blowe.

For this skill & fortune withall, Euphranor the Rhodian was of great fame in Cæsar's time; although his end found too true the saying of the Historian, that Whom Fortune honoureth with many good haps, she oftentimes reuereth to a harder destiny; as other fa-men besides Euphranor, can truly witness.

This first brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boarding one of another, then the art & practices of their land seruices came in vse: for, they erected turrets vpon their decks, and from them they fought with engines and casting-weapons, as slings, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with sword and target. Neither did the legionary souldier find any difference when he came to the point, betweene their fight at sea and that at land: sauing that they could not be marshall'd in troups and bands, in regard wherof the sea seruice was counted more base, and dishonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuersie, by slings and casting-weapons; which kinde of fight was of lesse honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The Battell continueth: and Cæsar ouercommeth.

Cæsar.



HE manner of their fights being thus, as I haue described, neither Brutus nor any Tribune or Centurion in his navy, knew what to do or what course of fight to take: for, the shipping of the Gallies was so strong, that the beake-head of their Quinquereemes could performe no seruice vpon them: & although they shoulde raise turrets according to their vse, yet these would not equal in height the poupe of the Enemies shipping; so that therein also the Gallies had aduantage: neither had they any means, whereby they might soile so great a name, which amounted to the number of 230. ships of war. One thing

thing there was amongst their provisions which flood them in great stead: for, the Romans had provided great sharp hooks or sickles, which they put vpon great & long poles: these they fastned to the tackling which held the main yard to the mast, and then haling away their ship, with force of Oares, they cut the said tackling & the main yard fell downe. Whereby the Gallies, whose only hope consisted in sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant, both their sailes & the vse of their shipping: And then the controuerisie fell within the compass of valour, wherein the Romans exceeded the Gallies; and the rather, inasmuch as they fought in the sight of Cæsar and the whole Army, no valiant act could bee smothered in secret; for, all the hills and cliffs, which afforded neere prospect into the sea, were covered with the Roman Arme.

Their maine yares being cut downe, and the Romans endeavouring with great fury to board them, failed not to take many of their ships: which the Gallies perceiving, & finding no remedy nor hope of resistance, began all to fly, & turning their ships to a forewind, were vpon a sudden so becalmed, that they were able to make no way at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a navy, very few through the helpe of the evening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8. houres: with which battell, ended the war with the Veneti. & the rest of the maritime nations. For, all sort of people both young & old in whom there was either courage, counsell, or dignity, were present at this battell, and all their shipping was taken & lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their towns any longer: and therefore yielded themselves to Cæsar, in whom he used the greater severity, that he might thereby teach all other barbarous people, not to violate the lawe of nations: for, he slew all the Senats with the sword, and sold the people for bondslauens.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this battell I chiefly obserue the good fortune, which vually attendeth vpon industry: for amongst other provisions, which the diligence of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made ready these hookes, not for this intent wherein they were employed; but at all occasions and chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather then principal instruments: & yet it so fell out, that they proved the only means, to overthrow the Gallies. Which proueth true the saying of Cæsar, that industrie commandeth fortune and buyeth good successe, with extraordinary labour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an assent beyond the strength of reason; and striueth through continuall pursuit, to make good the mortuities, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that disposition, which will easily admit whatsoever is required: In like manner, diligence and labour some industrie, by circumspect and heedfull carriage, seldom faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For, euery action is intangled with many infinite aduerents, which are so intercelled in the matter, that it succedeth according as it is carried.

*The force of
industrie.*

carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherents, some of them are by wilddome foreseen; and directed to that course which may fortune the action: the rest being vnknown, continue without either direction or prevention, & are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyond the compass of our wisest reach, and in the waie either to assist or disadvantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authority; in as much as she armeth her selfe for all chances, whereby she is sayd to command fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

*Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manner thereof.*

* *Lat. Perce**Cesar.** *Rhone.*
* *Emureux.*

While these things happened in the state of Vannes, *L. Titurius Sabinus* entred with his forces into the confines of the *Vnelli*, over whom *Viridoux* was made chiefe Commander, hauing drawne the * *Aulerci* and the * *Eburonices* with a great number of *wagabondes* and theues into the same conspiracie: *Sabinus* meeting himselfe in a conuenient place, kept his souldiers within the rampier. But, *Viridoux*, being lodged within lesse then two miles of *Sabinus* his camp, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him opportunitie to fight if he would: which *Sabinus* refused in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the Enemy of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprocheful speeches of his own souldiers; which opinion of feare being once settled in the minds of the Enemy, he used all meanes to increas it, and carried it so well, that the Enemy durst approch the very rampier of the camp. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the Generall, to fight with an Enemy of that strength, but upon some good opportunitie, or in a place of aduantage. In this generall persuasion of feare, *Sabinus* chose out a subtil witted Gals, whom he persuaded with great rewards, and further promises, to flee to the Enemy, and there to carrie himselfe, according to the instructions, which he should giue him. This Gals, comming as a reuolter to the Enemy, laid open vnto the feare of the Romans; the extremity that *Cesar* was driue into by the *Vnelli*; & that the night before, *Sabinus* was about to withdraw his forces secretly out of his camp, & to make all the haste he could to relieue *Cesar*. Vpon which advertisement, they alcried out with one consent, that this opportunitie was not to be omitted; but setting apart all other desires, to go & assault the Roman campe. Many circumstances persuaded the Gals to this resolution; as first the lingering & doubt which *Sabinus* had made, when he was offered battell; secondly, the intelligence which this fugitive had brought; thirdly, the want of victuals wherein they had bin negligent & vnadvisedly careless; fourthly, the hope they conceiued of the war of *Vannes*; and lastly, for that men willingly beleeue that which they would haue come to pass. The force of these motives was so strong, that they would not suffer *Viridoux*

doix, nor the rest of the Captaines, to dismisse the Councell, untill they had permitted them to take Armes, and goe to the Romaine Camp. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and fagots to fill vp the ditch; & with cheerful hearts, as though the victorie were already gotten, they marched to the place where *Sabinus* was incamped; which was the top of a hill, rising gently from a leuell, the quantity of one thousand paces. Either the Galls hastied with all expedition; & so the intent the Romaines might not haue so much time, as to put on their Armour, the Galls for haste ranne themselves out of breath.

Sabinus, incouraging his souldiers, gaue the signe of battell; and sallying out at two severall gates of his Campe, it fell out that through the oportunitie of the place, the wearinesse and vnxperience of the Enemy, the valour of the Romaine souldier, and their exercise in former battell, that the Galls could not indure the brunt of the first encounter, but presently tooke themselves to flight, of whom, very few escaped. And so it happened, that at one time, *Sabinus* had newes of the ouerthrow at Sea, and *Cesar* of *Sabinus* victory by Land. Vpon these victories, all the Citties and States yielded themselves to *Titurius*: for, as the Galls are prompt to vndertake a warre; so are they weake in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATION.



His practice of a counterfeited feare, was often put in vse by the Romaine Leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemy, as to draw them into an inconuenience, and so to defeat them of their greatest helps in time of battell. *Cesar*, comming to succour the Campe of *Cicero*, made such vse of this Art, that he put to rout a great Arme of the Galls, with a handfull of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is particularly set downe by *Cesar*.

The chiefest thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for, it is a thing hardly to be digested in business of small consequence, to be frustrated of a scitled expectation, when the mind shal dispose herselfe to one onely intent, and in the vp-shott meet with a counterbuffe to crosse her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained: how much more then in things of such importance, when we shal proceed in a course of victorie, and humour our conceits with that wee with and would haue to happen; and in the end, meet either with bondage or death, mult our best wits bee appalled? hauing neither repite nor meanes, to thinke how the euill may be dispreuented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, & counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by such as knew not the secrets of wilddome; while they in the meane time forelawe their good fortunes, throwed vnder the cloake of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a Leader, so to take the opportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution, he omit not the chiefest points of order and discipline, as well for the better effecting of the designe, as for his own safety and

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*The vse
which the
Romans
made of a
counterfeited
feare.*
Lib. 5.

the securitie of his Armie. For, order is as the sinewes and strength of martiall discipline, uniting the particular members into the firme composition of a well proportioned bodie: and so it maketh it more powerfull then any number of disunitied parts, how able or infinite soever.

I might here alleadge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux serve for all; wherein the Protestants, overcharging the Catholick Armie, followed the retrain so hard, that they quickly became Maisters of the field: and then neglecting martiall discipline, fell in confusedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious by slaughter and mortallitie. The Duke of Guise, all this while, bouged not a foot; but in vnexampld patience, kept his regiment close together, and would not suffer them to rescue their General that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewise disperfed and broken: and then perceiving no difference of order, betweene the victor Protestant, and the vanquished Catholick, hee discoloured that terrible cloud that had hung so long in suspence; and so changed the fortune of the day, that he tooke the chieft of their Princes prisoners, with little or no losse of his owne men: so powerfull is order in the deeds of Armes, and of such consequence in obtaining victorie. And thus wee have first seene the inconueniences, which a counterfet feare well diffembled, may cast vpon a crestulous and vnadvised enimie, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an error, which their owne credulitie doth afterward avouch: and secondly, what strength and safetie consisteth in order: and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to set vp.

CHAP. IX.

The proceedings of Crassus in Aquitanie.

Cæsar.

AT the same instant of time, it happened also, that Pub. Crassus coming into Aquitania (which both in regard of the large extension of the Countrey, as also for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and considering that he was to make war in those parts, where L. Valerius Preconinus the Legate was slain, and the Army overthrowne: and where Lucius Manlius wasaine to sit, with the losse of his carriages; he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence: and therefore, having made provision of Corne, & mustered many Auxiliarie forces, and sent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouse and Narbone, hee carried his Armie into the confines of the Sontiates: which was no sooner knowne, but they leuied great forces both of horse and foote, and with their horse, charged vpon the Romaines in their march: vvhich being easilie repelled, as they followed the retrain, the infanterie of the Gallies, shewd it selfe in a Valley as it lay in Ambush. These, setting vpon the Romaines, renewed the battaile, and there the fight continued hot a long time; Sonti-

*Euocati.

Sontiates being animated with the former victories, saw all the hope of Aquitanie relye vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other side, desired to shew what they were able to doe of themselves, without their grand Captaine, and vnder the conduction of a young souldier. At length, the enimie, overmaged with prowesse, and wearied with wounds, betooke themselves to flight; of whom the Romans slew a great number: and then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid siege vnto it: the siege grew hot on both sides, the Romans approached the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts. The townsmen defended themselves, sometime by salying out, sometimes by undermining the mounts and fortifications, wherein the Aquitani are very skillfull. But, when they perceived the industrie of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Crassus to accept their rendry: which being granted, and all the Army intending the deliuey of their Armes, Adcantuannus their chiefe Magistrate, fledde out in the meane time at another part of the Cittie, with fixe hundred denoted companions, whom they called Solduri; but as they attempted to escape, the souldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his enuision by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselves to Armes, & so repelled him againe into the towne; where he desired to be taken in the number of the submissive multitude. Crassus, having taken hostages of them, went into the confines of the Vocontij.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Hese skillfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Citties in Aquitaine, were those, whom the Romans called *Euocati*: such as were free from warfare, & exempted by their lawes from giuing their names in musters, either by reason of their yeetes, or the magistracie which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that priuiledge: & in that regard, were sent for by Letters, intreating their assistance in the carriage of that war, as men well acquainted with the nature of such busineses. Their places were nothing inferior to the Centurions, for aduise and direction, although they had no part in command or authoritie.

Euocati.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this fight, we may further obserue, their maner of defence against Mounts, and Cavalieros; which we find chiefly to be Mines. Iosephus, in the Iewish warre, saith, that The Romaines having raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes undermined the same with such Art, that as they digged vnderneath, they supported the Mount with huge props & planks, that it might not shrinke: and watching a time of greatest advantage, they set all the timber-work, which vnderdropped the mount, on fire.

M 2.

which

*Lib. 7. de bel
to Gall.*

which taking fire, with the help of Brimstone and Pitch, the Mount fell vpon a suddaine, to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

At the siege of *Anaricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the Mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vneffectuall. But if it were for the most part made of wood, or other combustible matter, they sought then by all meanes to burne it; as it happened at the siege of *Maifilia*: and oftentimes, when both burning & vndermining failed, they confronted it, with another Mount within the walles, to disappoint the disaduantage by equall contending of it; and so made it vnprofitable.

Concerning Mines, this much may I say, without prejudice to that Art, that the chiefeft points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a designed place; which is best got by instrument, and helpe of Geometrie, where other marks of certaintie are wanting. Secondly, the direction of the Mine, that we may not erre in our course which the Compasse affordeth. Thirdly, the strengthening of the Mine with timber-work, if need require. Lastly, the countermining and crosse-meeting. All which parts haue very many circumstances, & require a larger discourse, then may be thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

His strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their Chieftaine, may well deserue a place amongst these obseruations, especially, considering the obligatorie conditions, which either party stood bound to obserue: for, the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happinels in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of what soeuer ill chance or disaster should happen to befall him. If death, which is the last end of all sensuall miserie, took hold of their head, these deuoted, were tied voluntarily to follow him the selfe same way: neither in any memorie was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, chanced to be slaine. Which bloody league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of Nature, multiplying particular deslinie to a generall calamitie: so was it dangerous in a well ordered State, if the Ring-leader were either ambitious, or fought to practice any thing contrarie to good gouernment: for, he himselfe would presume much vpon the assistance of his Soldurij; and they, on the other side, must needs wish well to his attempts, that were so interested in his life and death.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Galles raise new forces against *Crassus*.



He barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that strength should so soon be taken; and therefore they sent Embassadors into all quarters, conuined one with another, confirmed their covenantes with mutuall hostages, and leuied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other States that bordered vpon Aquitaine. At the coming of these forces, they began to make warre, with a great power, and with many souldiers of great fame: for, they appointed such Leaders as had scene the experience of *Sertorius* his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the *Arte Militarie*. These, according to the custome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortifie their Campe, and to intercept the Romanes from free passage of conuoyes, and necessarie intercourses. Which when *Crassus* perceived, & considering withall, that his owne forces were so few, that he could not well dismember them vpon any seruice or aduantage, and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient guarison in his Campe; by which meanes, their corne and provision would in time grow scarce, and the enemy waxed every day stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to giue them battell.

The matter being referred to a Councell of warre, when he understood that all men were of the same opinion, he appointed the next day to giue them battell, & in the dawning, putting his men in a double battaile, & placing the Auxiliarie forces in the midst, he attended to see what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were perswaded, that they might aduenture battell, both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowesse of warre, as also in respect of the paucitie of the Romanes: yet they thought it better to block up the passages, and so cut off all carriages, and conuoyes of corne; and so the victory would follow without bloodshed: and if the Romanes for want of Corne, should offer to make a retreat, they would then set vpon them as they marched, wearied with trauell, & heauily laden with their burthens. This resolution being approoued by the whole Councell of the Galles, when the Romanes imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their Campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His *Sertorius* had followed the faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and when *Sylla* had ouerthrowne both the elder & younger *Marius*, he fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote against *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and ouerthrew them in many battels: but in

M 3

Cesar.

Sertorius.

the end was treacherously slaine by Perpanna at a banquet. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; & vnder him were these Captaines brought vp, which Cæsar commendeth for their skill in Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*Two meanes
to achieve
victorie and
to overma-
ster their e-
nemies.*

IN histories, propounding to our consideration the deedes and monuments of former ages, we may observe two especial meanes, which the great Commanders of the world haue entertained to achieve victorie, and ouermaster their enemies: the first, by cunning and wise carriage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the second by forceable meanes and wages of battaile; the one proceeding from wisdom and the better faculties of the soule; and the other depending vpon the strength and abilitie of the bodie.

*Tubalcaine
by war, and
Nimrod by
the sword.*

Concerning the first, it hath euer bene held more honourable, as better fitting the worth of the spirit, and the diuine essence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerser part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the projects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, and so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driven to that exigent, which may determine of the controuersie before they come to blowes, and conclude the matter by termes of Arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For, to speake a truth, the action of battell, as it is the last part in that facultie; so it is the worst in regard of Christian dutie, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his second wife (which the Diuines doe note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind) then the children of grace; whose ioy consisteth in peace and loue.

Cæsar, in the first of the Ciuill warres, respected the same thing, but from other grounds: for, hauing shutt vp Afranius and Petreius in a place of disadvantage, and might haue cutt them off without further trouble; yet, forasmuch as he foresaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest vpon the enemy; *Cur etiam secundum praelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optimi de se meritis milites? cur denique fortuna periclitaretur?* And this course did these Gallies take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Art, and the Romaine industrie: and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romaines at their owne weapon.

This first meanes is principally to be embraced, as the safest way in these vncertaine and casual euents: for, that which resteth vpon corporall strength, & maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is very terrible euen to the better partie, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For, it were a miracle of Fortune neuer heard of yet, so to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatsoeuer, that the victor Arme should buy to great a fortune without bloodshed or losse of men; and erect a Trophie to Honour, at the sole cost of the Enemy, without losse or expence of his owne treasure.

And

And for the vncertaintie in a battaile, who knoweth not what infinite changes and changes may happen in euerie small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that partie, and make both sides vncoustant in their affections, by presenting them interchangeably with hope and teare, ioy & sorrow: and therefore Cæsar thought it not best to tempe the weywardnesse of Fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his desires.

This, I say, is chiefly to be imbraced, if our means will affoord vs that hap-pinenesse: but howsoeuer, I hold it wisdom to entertaine this course of victorie, that wee omitte not the chiefest helps of furtherance, when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conquest by Arte and wit, as necessarie, if our meanes will serue vs to compass it; and of the other, as necessarie whether we will or no: for, the historie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himselfe destitute of meanes, to vndertake that course of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and discret carriage; hee then betooke himselfe necessarie to the later, and by the helpe of battell, sought to free himselfe from those disadvantages, into which the Gallies had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Obserue further, out of this place, that what course soeuer be taken, a discret Leader will not easie for-goe an aduantage without great assurance of a better fortune: nor change the certaintie of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the interest of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promised to performe. For, so hee might for-goe his fortune, by presuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are often scene to crosse our purposes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

*Not to forgoe
an aduantage*

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Vther, I obserue, this double battell to be answerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for, their viall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the first might haue a second, and a third helpe: but where their number would not afford that commoditie, they then made two battels that there might be the succour of a second supply. But they neuer fought with one lingle battell, for ought that may be gathered by their histories.

THE

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

The place
where suspect-
ed forces
are best be-
flowed in
battell.



He last thing which I observe, is the place, where Crassus bestowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troups to battaile; which is heete said to bee, in *mediam Aciem*: for, as their Armies were diuided into three battels; so euery battell was diuided into three parts; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein these Auxiliarie forces were in this seruice bestowed: of these he afterward saith, that Inasmuch as he durst not put any confidence in them, hee commaunded them to serue the Romans in time of battell, with stones and weapons; and to cary earth and turfe to the Mount. The reason why suspected troups are placed in the battell, rather the in either of the cornets, is, for that the battaile hath not such scope to sling out, or take aduantage of place to doe mischief, as the cornets haue: for, whereloeuer there haue been set battels fought, the strength of their Armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell; and as long as these stood found, the victorie went alwaies certain on that part; for, the cornets kept the enemy, both from incompassing about the body of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie.

At the battell of Cannas, Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enemy, left the two cornets behind: so that, when the enemy came to charge vpon the battell, they easily beate them backe, and as they followed, the reitrait fell in between the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted; & being by them incompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrowne. And thus we see the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets stand firme, although the battell shrink in he encounter. Hanniball, in the battell hee had with Scipio in Africk, placed the Strangers in the front, and in the rereward; according peraduenture as hee found their number, and the vie of their Armes: which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather vpon the iudgement of a Generall, then of any prescription that can be giuen in this matter.

CHAP. XI.

Crassus taketh the Camp of the Galles: and
with their ouerthrow endeth that
VVarre.

Cæsar.



CRASSVS, vnderstanding their drift, and finding his men willing to set vpon their Campe, encouraged his souldiers; & to the contentment of all men, vovnt directly to the place where they were lodged: & as some began to fil up the ditch, and others with casting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commaunded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom he

hee had no great assurance, to bring stones and weapons to the souldiers that fought, and to carie earth & turfe to the Mount: that so they might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy beganne valiantly to make resistance, and to cast their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Romaine souldier; the horsemen in the meane time, riding about the Campe of the Galles, brought word to Crassus, that the rampier at the Deuane port, was not fortified with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the Commanders of the horse, to incourage their men with great promises and rewards; and instructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their instructions, took foure cohorts that were left in the Campe, and carrying them a further way about, that they might not be discovered by the enemy, while all mens eyes and minds were intent vpon the fight, they speedily came to the place of the fortifications, which the horsemen had found to be weake; which beeing easilie broken downe, they had entered the Campe before the Enemy could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour and shout beeing heard about that place, the Romaine legions renning their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, beganne to charge them afresh with great furie. The Galles, beeing circumuented on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselues over the rampier, sought by flight to escape the danger. But forasmuch as the Country was open & champaine, the horsemen pursued them with that execution, that of fiftie thousand, there scarce remained the fourth part.

OBSERVATION.



From this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an Enemy that is strongly incamped, & for some aduantage will not remoue, may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great consequence, in matter of warre; and therefore deserveth due consideration. Concerning which, he laiech this downe for a maxime, that All forts and strong holds are taken by the foot; & that camps and lodgings are taken by the head. By which is meant, that hee who purposeth to winne a fortresse well manned and provided, must first get the foot, and take hold of the ditch, and then leise himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for, he saith, that mounts and eminent eleuations, are of little vie against fortresses or scones, vnlesse they ouer-top them: which may be easily preuented, by raising the parapet of the fortresse in front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall cary his mounts aloft; and so they shall neuer come to ouer-toppe the holds. But all Camps and lodgings are taken by the head: that is, by mounts and eleuations, which by the aduantage of their height, commaund the champaine: for, hee holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the Campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemy shall make without.

This foundation being laid, he proceedeth to discover a way, how to raise a mount, maugre the enemy, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murder

Lib. 3.
Armenius
to secundo.

Lib. de bello
Gallico.

murder them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar, at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call *steliell*. By this double ditch, he maketh his approach to any place of most aduantage, where hee may, in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to play vpon any quarter of the Campe. The censure of this practice, I referre to our iudicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme, in the behalfe of these works, that they were of high esteeme amongst the Romans, who daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to find out the readiest meanes, both for securitie and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to taste the commoditie of these works, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practices: but our men had rather flie vpon desperate aduentures, and seeke victorie in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the
Menapij and Morini.

Cæsar.
* Terrouine.
* Cleue and
Gueldeires.



At the same time also, although the Sommer was almost at an end, yet forasmuch as all Gallia was in peace, and the * Morini enely with the * Menapij stood out in Armes, and had neuer either sent Embassadour, or otherwise treated of Peace: Cæsar, thinking that warre might quickly be ended, ledde his Armie into their Country. At his comming, hee found them to carie the warres farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done: for vnderstanding that the greatest Nations of Gallia, which had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and overthrowne: and hauing vnhole continents of woods and boggs in their territories, they conuained both themselves and their goods into those quarters. Cæsar, comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his Campe, not discouering any enemy neere about him: but as his men were dispersed in their charges, they suddenly sallied out of the woods, and assaulted the Romans; but being speedily driven in againe, with the losse of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine.

The time that remained, Cæsar refused to spend in cutting down the woods: and, least the souldiers might be taken vnawares, while they were busied in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Armie, that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaults. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies, so that their goods & cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themselves were fledde into thicker woods.

woods. At which time there happened such a continuall raine, as forced them to leaue off the worke; and the souldiers could no longer indure to lie in Tents of skinned: and therefore Cæsar, after hee had wasted and spoiled their Country, burned their townes, and their houses; hee carried back his Armie, and placed them in such Citties to winter in, as were subdued by the late warres.

OBSERVATION.



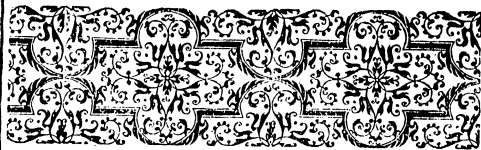
He Irish rebels, hauing the like commoditie of woods and bogges, do entertaine the like course of war, as the Morini did with Cæsar. The meanes which beyled to disappoint them of that practice, was to cut downe the woods; which if it be thought monstrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of war; let them consider that the Romaine discipline, wrought greater effects of valour, then can be made credible by the vie of these times. For, besides their exquisite discipline, which of it selfe was able to frame patterns of vnexampled magnanimitie, their industrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and caried it with such vncessant trauell, that the souldiers thought it great happinesse when they came to wage battell with the Enemy; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues.

Neither let it seeme strange, that the Romaines vnderooke to cut down the woods: but rather let vs admire their facilitie in so difficult a taske; for, as the historie witnesseth; *magno spacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate*: a great quantitie of ground, was rid in a few daies, with incredible speed. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each side of the legions, to hinder any suddaine assault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deserueth as great admiration as the former part. There is another place in the sixth booke of these Commentaries, which expresseth more particularly the nature of such warres, and may serue to acquaint vs with that which Cæsar did in these difficulties.

The Eburones, or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods & bogges, and made vse of them in the warre they had with Cæsar. The matter faith hee, required great diligence, not to much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie (for there could no danger come from an enemy that was frightened and dispersed) as the safetie of euery particular souldier, which in part did pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For, the desire of a bootie, caried many of the souldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to goe either thicke together, or close imbattailed. If he desired to haue the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to be rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, & diuide his men into many bodies: but if he would haue the Maniples to keepe at their Ensignes, as the discipline and custome of the Romaine Armie required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the Emie. Neither did they want courage to lay Ambushments, and to circumvent such

such as they found alone, straggling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; providing rather to be wanting in the offensive part (although all mens mindes were set on fire with revenge) then to hurt the enemy with the losse of the Romaine souldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the bordering States, to come out and sack the Eburones, & they should have all the prey for their labour: that the life of the Galles, rather then his legionarie souldiers, might be hazarded in those woods; as also, that with so great a multitude, both the race & name of that people might be quite extinguished.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better observed by such as knowe those warres by experience, then by my selfe, that understand them onely by relation: and therefore to prevent such exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallel in these two cases, I will leave it to be done by themselves. And thus endeit the third Commentarie.



THE

THE FOVRTH COMMENTARIE.

THE ARGUMENT.

THe Visipetes, and Tenchtheri are driven to seek new seats in Gallia; they drive the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are overthrowen by Cæsar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Army over into Germany. He taketh revenge vpon the Sicambri; and giueth libertie to the Vbiij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie over into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The Visipetes, and Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, over the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

* Those of
Zurphen.
* Of Hassia.

THE winter following, Pompeie and Crassus being Consuls, the Visipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germane nations, passed over the Rhene, with great multitudes of people: not far from the place, where it falleth into the sea. The reason of their sitting, was the ill intreatie, which for many yeares together they had received of the Sueni, the greatest and warlikest nation among the Germanes. For these Sueui had one hundred Cantons or shires, which yearly furnished their warres, with 1000. men apiece; and kept as manie at home to maintain both themselves, and their Armies abroad: and these the yeares following were in Armes; and the other staid at home, and performed the like dutie: and so by this means, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and master of war. They lived chiefly vpon cattel & milk, & used much hunting: which was the cause (what through the quality of their diet, their continual exercise, and libertie of life, being neuer tyed to any discipline, nor vrged to any thing against their disposition) that they were strong & of a large stature, using skins and hides for their cloathing, which covered but part of their bodie, the rest being naked. Their horsemen oftentimes, in time of batell, forsooke their horse, and fought on foot: being taught to stand

Cæsar.

N

still

167L

still in one place, that when they would they might returne vnto them. Neither was there any thing more base, or dishonest in the course of their life, then to vse furniture for horses, and would adventure to charge vpon great troupes of horse, that used Equipage, with a few of their owne quality. They admitted no wine to be brought in vnto them, lest it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them vnapt for labour. The greatest honour in their opinion, was to haue their bordering Territories lie waste & desolate: for, so it would be thought, that manie States together, would not resist their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country lay waste from them one waie 600. miles together.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practice of the Sueui, it appeareth, how little a naked resolution of valour auaileth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and ciuill discretion, to make vse of that greatnesse which prouels hath obtained: for, notwithstanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were so vainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it sorted to no other end, then to maintaine barbarisme at home, and desolation abroad; where as true valor is alwaies subordinate to the preferuation of Common-weales, and is as the defensue Armes of ciuill societie. Which I haue the rather noted, in as much as it resembleth an humor that aboundeth in this age, especially in the particular hauiour of our young Gallants, whose naked valour revealing it selfe only in the lie and in the stabbe, for want of other assitant vertues to temper the heat of so brittle a metall, lea- deth them into such inconueniences and disordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed rashnesse; and in lieu of vertues guer- don, is repaid with irritation.

CHAP. II.

The motives, inducing the Vspetes to
come cuer the Rhene into
GALLIA.

Cæsar.

NExt vnto these Sueui, inhabited the Vbi, a very ample and potent State: and through their entercourse & traffick with marchants, somewhat more ciuill then the rest of the Germans. With these, the Sueui had often waged battell: and albeit they could not expell them out of their country forasmuch as their State was very great and populous; yet by continuall incursions they brought them vnder, and much weakened their estate. In the same case were the Vspetes and Tencheri: for, hauing made head against the

Sueui

Sueui for many yeares together, they were constrained, in the end to forsake their possessions; and wandering the space of three yeares through the Continent of Germany, at last they arrived where the Menapi inhabited the bankes, on both sides the river Rhene: but being terrified with the arrivall of such a multitude, they forooke all their dwellings beyond the river, and planted themselves on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.

The Vspetes with their associates, hauing tried all meanes, and not finding themselves able to passe over by force, for want of boats; nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapi, fained a retraits to their old habitation: & after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedily returned againe, and slew the Menapi, both vnguarded and vnprouided. For they vpon the departure of the Germans feared not to returne ouer the river into their towns & houses. These being slain, and their shipping taken, they got ouer the river, before the rest of the Menapi had any notice of their coming: by which meanes they easily dispossessed them of their dwelling places, and liued that winter vpon the provision they found there.

Cæsar vnderstanding of these things, and fearing the weaknesse of the Galles, in as much as they are sudden & quick in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no waie trust their vnconstancie; for, it was their practice and custome to slay traouellers and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knewe, concerning any thing that had happened; and the common people would flocke about Merchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumors and hearesayes they directed the main course of their actions; whereof they could not but repent themselves, being grounded vpon such weake intelligence, as was usually coined to please the multitude. Which custome being known, Cæsar to preuent a greater war, hastned to his Army sooner then he was wont to doe.

OBSERVATION.

Such as haue spent their time in the contemplation of Nature, & haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the Regent of the French complexion; distinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the laide humor usually breedeth. Neither haue these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe obserued in the ancient Galles, any disreimblance from that which the learned of this age haue deliuered, concerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irrefolue constitution, which breeds such nouelties and contrarieties of actions, continueth the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what else so long a time hath changed; which argueth the vnresistible power of celesti- all influence, establishing an vniformity of nature, according as the site of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuersitie in the temperature of nations, which are differen-

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* Geldres & Cleue.

ced by North and South, is not without apparant cause, attributed to their propinquity, or distance from the course of the sun, which distinguisheth by heat and cold the Northern & Southerne climates of the earth; and separateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their actiue qualities. But the reason why two Nations which are both in the same climate, and vnder the same parallel, receiuing the vertue of the celestiall bodies, by the same downfall and rebound of their beames, being differenced only by East and West are so much disunited in nature, and so vnlike in disposition, is not so apparant: whether it be as some haue imagined, forasmuch as the all-inclosing sphere; which remaineth quiet and immouable about the circuit of the first motor, hath his parts diuerly distinguished with variety of properties; which by continuall reference and mutuall aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residency of one and the same qualitie, in one and the same place; and make alio the variety of fashions in such partes, as otherwise are equall favorites of the heauens maiestie, by receiuing an equall measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the faide quarters of the earth are in themselves diuerly noted, with seuerall qualities, which appropriate the selfe same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions: or whether there be fom other vnknown cause: I will leave euery man to satisfie himself with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to the discouerie of this cholerick passion. Vherin I will indeuour to shew, how impatiencie, sodaine resolution, and desire of noueltie, are naturall adiuncts of this humor. And if Cæsar made vse of this Philo sophy in the managing of that warre: let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall, to enter into the consideration of this learning. Vherin first, I must laie for a maxime, that which long experience hath made authentically, that the motions of the minde are either quicke or slow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for, as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moist, colde and heauie nature, begetting weake and grosse spirits, and benumbing the instruments with a liueles disability; so is the motion of the internall faculties, proceeding likewise after a slow manner, according to the quality of the instruments, wherby it moueth: and therefore men of this waterish constitution, are no way apt to receiue an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible apprehension, vnlesse it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions: and then also they proceede as slowly in discoursing of the consequence, and linger in the choise of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this *flamma bilis*, being of a hot piercing nature, and resembling the actiue vertue of the fire, doth so purifie the instruments of sense, and quicken the spirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had been oftentimes presented vnto them, with many strong circumstances. And thence it happeneth, that inasmuch as the *Species* is so readily receiued, & possesseth the apprehending facultie, with such facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the soule, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had beene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest arguments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtile and

fit

fit disposition of the instruments, which proceedeth frō heate the chiefeft qualitie in choler) that the object is at the first moment, so strongly sealed, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speed manifest their offices, concerning the apprehension; and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delay, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discursive power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances; nor to giue iudgement according to the course of our intellectuall court. It behoueth therefore euery man, in that vnsteady disposition, especially in matter of moment, to be suspitious of his own credulity, & not to giue place to resolution, before his iudgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weaknesse of the conceiued opinion.

But to leaue these speculative meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceit: for as much as the right vie of passions is either true wisdom, or cometh nearest to the same; I will only touch in a word what degree of choler best becometh a soldier; or how it auaileth, or disaduantageh in matter of warre. And first it cannot be denied, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclipse the light of reason, or sooner corrupteth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, then this of anger, which we now speak of: Neither is there any motion that more pleaseeth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heat in the execution. And if the truth chance to shew it selfe, and conuince a false pretended cause, as the author of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage euen against truth and innocency. Pilo condemned a souldier for returning from foraging, without his companion, being perswaded that he had slain him: but at the instant of the execution, the other that was missing, returned & with great ioy of the whole Army, they were carried to the Generall, thinking to haue much gratified him, with the manifestation of the truth; but he through shame and delpight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that hee found one innocent: the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of lawe: the second, for that he was the cause of the death of his companion; and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it consisteth of differenced parts; so hath choler diuers effectes. In case of discourse and consultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to bee cleere of all violent affections, it greatly darkeneth the vnderstanding, and troubleth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, as Cæsar noted in his speech to the Senate concerning Cateline: and therefore a Commander, must by al means indeuor to auoid, euen the least motions of so hurtfull a passion; and season his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may, either hinder his vnderstanding, or withhold his will from following that course, which reason appointeth, as the best means to a fortunate successe: alwaies remembering that all his actions are presented vpon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which applaud graue & patient motions, as the greatest proof of true wisdom;

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and

Saluti.

8c disallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sincere catiage of an action, how iust fouer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessitie instrument to set valour on foot, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terror, with a furious resolution: for, considering that the noblest actions of the mind, stand in need of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to be the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for, as feare is treacherous and vn- safe, so anger is confident and of an vnquenchable heat. And therefore a Com- mander ought by all meanes, to suggelt matter of anger against an Enemy, that his men may beholde them with a wrathfull regarde, and chist after the daie of battell, to satisfie their fury with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vrg, that it hath been heretofore obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battell they were more then men, and in the later end they were lesse then women; and therefore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seem to make it: I answer, that There is a difference between a disposition to chol- er, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for, the first is subiect to alteration and contrarietie of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer fatished but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is proued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; whereunto some answer were very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for, we do manage other weapons, and this doth manage vs; our hand guideth not it, but it guideth our hand; it possesseth vs, and not we it, as it hap- pened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at *Petera*: & therefore a Commander ought to take great heed, whom hee maketh the ob- iect of that anger, which kindleth in his Army. For, as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to be wisely directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiers.

But to leaue this hasty matter, and fall neerer that which we seek after: I may not omit the Prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people: the euent whereof proued the truth of his predictions; which sheweth what aduantage a learned General that hath bin somewhat instructed in the school of Nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiue rudiments of the war, and thin- keth of no further lesson in that art, then that which the office of a Seriant, or Lanceprizado containeth.

CHAP.

*Tacit.
1. Annal.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth to his Armie, marcheth towards the Germanes, and by the waie treateth of conditions of Peace.



Cæsar being come to his Army, found that to haue hap- pened which he before suspected: for, some of the States of Gal- lia had sent messengers vnto the Germanes, to leaue the banks of Rhene, and to Come further into the continent, where they should find ready, whatsoever they desired. Whereupon the Germanes began to make further incursions, and to waste the land as far as the confines of the * Eburones. The Princes of the Galles being cal- led together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what he had discouered, concern- ing their reuolt; and confirming their minds with an approbation of their loy- alty, he commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leued, and resolved to make warre vpon the Germanes; and hauing made prouision of torne, hee directed his march towards them. From who as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their Camp, he receiued this message: The Germanes as they were not willing to make warre vpon the Romans, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly prouoked; for, their ancient custome was to answer an Enemy by force, and not by treaty: yet this much they would confesse, that they came thither very unwillingly, being driuen by violence out of their possessions. If the Roman people would accept of their friendship, & either giue them territories to inhabit, or suffer them to keep that which they had got by the lawe of Armes, they might prone profitable friends vnto them. They onely yielded to the Sueui, to whom the gods in seats of Arms were inferior; any other Nation they would easily conquer.

To this Cæsar answered what he thought fit, but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands: Gallia had no vacant place to entertain so great a multi- tude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the * Vbi, whose agents were at that instant in his Camp, complaining of the iniurie of the Sueui, and desiring aide against them; this much he himself would intreat of the Vbi. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his Army any neerer their quarters; which request Cæsar denied. For, vnderstand- ing that a fewe dayes before, a great part of their Cavalrie were passed ouer the Mosæ, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the return of their horsemen.

When Cæsar was come within twelue miles of their Camp, their Ambassadors returned

Cæsar.

Liege.

*Colonia A.
rippina.*

returned; and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to march no further towards them: but being denied of their suits, they besought him to send to those troupes of horse, which marched before the Army, that they should not fight nor make any hostile encounter; and that he would give them leave to send messengers to the Vbijs: of whose entertainment they would willingly accept, if the Princes and Senate would swear faith and safe continuance unto their people: Neither would they require more then 3. daies, to negotiate this business. Caesar conceived this intreaty to import nothing else, then the returne of their horsemen that were absent in pillage, whom they expected within three daies; notwithstanding he promised them to march but foure miles further that day, to a convenient waiting place: in the meane time he sent to the Commanders of the horse that were before, not to prouoke the Enemy to fight; and if they were set upon, to sustaine the charge, untill he came neerer with the Armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

First, wee may obserue his dissembling of the practice of the Galles with the Germans; and the encouragement which hee gaue them in a faithfull and loyall affection to the people of Rome, when hee himselfe knew they had started from that duty, which both their honour and a good respect of their friends required: for, he well understood, that his presence did take away all scruple of any further motion in that kind; and therefore to haue objected vnto them their errors, had not bin to heale, but to discouer their wound: only he took the waie to cut off their hopes of any practices, which they might attempt against the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the appearance of faithfull friends, that they might not be discouraged, by the detection of their revolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, vpon this resolution that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this side the Rhene; wee may obserue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with such consents & denials, as might manifest his readinesse to further what he made shew of, & not weaken the meanes of his best advantage. For as hee was content they should take a quiet farewel of Gallia, & plant themselves in the possessions of the Vbijs, so was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might disadvantage his forcible constraint or weaken his command, if perswasion failed: for, he well knew, that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the course of a peaceable conclusion, and carry more authority in a parlee, then any other mortue, how reasonable soeuer.

Moreouer wee may obserue, how careful hee was not to impose vpon the Germanes a necessitie of fighting; but opened a passage (by propounding vn-

*Vincitur
bando grati*

to

to them the association of the Vbijs) by which they might auoyd the hazard of battell. Which thing was alwayes obserued by Commanders of auncient times, who diligently searching into the nature of things, found that neither of these noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hand and the tongue) had euer brought so many excellent workes to that type of perfection, vnles they had been forced thereto by necessity: and therefore we are wisely to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent garde, we giue occasion to the Enemy, by the waie of *Antiperipetia*, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which Verius Melsius calleth *ultimum* and *maximum telum*, the last and greatest weapon; the force wherof shall better appeare by these examples.

Some fewe of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, hauing made incursions into the territories of the Roman confederats; the Senate of that State sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of satisfaction: But being reiected, Claudius Pontius General of their forces, in an excellent Oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be reuenged by war: and therefore necessity constrained them to put on Arms: *Iustum est bellum* (saith he) *quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes est.*

Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian Army had entred the Roman Campe; which Manlius perceiuing, hee halted with a band of men to keep the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no sooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they slew Manlius; and had ouerthrown the whole Camp, had not a Tribune opened them a passage, by which they fled away.

In like manner Camillus, the wisest of the Romaine Captaines, being entred into the Citie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie and disarm the Enemy of that terrible weapon of necessity, hee caused it to be proclaimed, that no Veian should bee hurt, that was found vnarmed. Whereupon euery man cast away his weapon, and so the towne was taken without bloodshed.

Let a souldier therefore take such holde of occasions, and opportunities that are offered vnto him; that in time of battell hee may seem to cast necessity vpon his own cause, and retaine it in his paie: considering how the power thereof altereth the works of Nature, and chaungeth their effects into contrary operations: being neuer subiect to anie ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawfull which proceedeth from it.

CHAP.

*ingulo qui
prouocat ho-
stem.*

Lin. lib. 9

Lin. lib. 7

1691
Mammilla 64. 7

CHAP. IIII.

The Germans, contrary to their owne request
made to Cæsar, set upon the Romaine horse-
men, and ouerthrew them.

Cæsar.



Notwithstanding the Germans request, concerning the truce, as soon as they saw the Roman horsemen, which were in number 5000. (whereas the Germans had not about 800. horse) they charged upon the Romans, not expecting any hostile encounter, inasmuch as their ambassadors were newly departed from Cæsar, and had obtained that daie of truce: but being set upon, they made what resistance they could. The Germans, according to their vsuall custome, forsooke their horse, and fighting on foote, did easily put the Romans to flight: who neuer looked backe, untill they came into the sight of the legions: in that battell were slain 74. Roman horsemen. After this battell, Cæsar thought it not safe, either to hearken to any conditions, or to receive any message from them, that by fraud and deceit had sought for peace, & meant nothing but war: And to attend any longer untill their horsemen returned, was but to giue them that aduantage against him, especially considering the weaknesse of the Galles, amongst whom the Germans by this battell had gayned great reputations, and therefore he durst not giue them space to thinke upon it.

OBSERVATION.



His cunning of the Germans offereth occasion to speak somewhat, concerning that maine controuersie of policie, which is, whether the adious of Princes and great Commanders, are alwaies to be attended with integrity, & faithful accomplishment thereof. VVherin I will only set down such arguments and grounds of reason, which vertue and morall honestie on the one part, (for we will make it no question to a Christian mind) & the daily practice of States men on the other side, alleage to make good their contrarie assertions.

The great Politicians of the world, that commend vertue in a shew, and not in effect being, & study to maintaine their states onely with humane reason, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, set this down as a maxime in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an end, sorting to his contentment, must in all respects bee like qualified, both in iudgement and disposition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwise he cannot be sufficiently prepared, to hold himself strong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For, a wraister that commeth with meere strength to encounter an other that hath both strength and cunning, may bestrewe his strength that brought him thither, to be cast by skill, and be laught at, as an vnworthie Cham-

Cham-

*Champion for serious sports in like manner, in this vniuersall confusion of infidelity, wherein subtilty flyeth at so high a pitch, he that thinketh with simplicity of spirit to wind through the labyrinths of falsehood, and auoid the snares of deceit, shall find himself too weak for so difficult a task, and bestrewe his honestie, if he regard his commoditie. For it is the course that euery man taketh, which must bring vs to the place, to which euery man goeth: and he that opposeth himself against the current of the world, may stand alone in his owne conceit, and neuer attain that which the world seeketh after. Forasmuch therefore, as craft & deceit are so generally, it behooueth a man of publicke negotiations, to carry a mind apt & disposed to these qualities. This was signified by that, which ancient writers report of Achilles, who was sent to Chiron the Cetaure, half a man and half a beast, to be instructed in the rudiments of Princely carriage; that of the brutish part, hee might learne to strengthen himselfe, with force and courage; and of the humane shape, so to manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answer or preuent, whatsoever mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a priuate man to woder at the strangenes of these positions; considering that the government of kingdoms, & Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a wel ordered State: wherein truth-breakers and faithles dissemblers are worthily condemned, inasmuch as they necessarily enforce the ruine thereof. But these that sit at the helm of government, and are to shape the course of a State, according to the variation of times and fortunes, deriue their conclusions from other principles, whereof inferior subiects are no more capable, then men are able to vnderstand the works of the Gods: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, so be reuerenced rather, then lookt into.*

To conclude, the affaires of particular persons are of so short extension, and incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacity may easily apprehend the aduantages or inconueniences, which may ensue vpon the contract: and therefore it is requisite they should stand to the aduenture, and their iudgement is worthily taxed with the lois: but the businesse of the Common-weale are, both subiect to so many casualties of fortune, and rely vpon such vnexpected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, how prouident soeuer, to foresee the issue in that variety of chanches. Besides that, euery particular subiect is much interested in the fortune of the euent, and may iustly chalenge an alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwrack through the error of their Pilot: And so the safetie of the State doth balance out the los of credit in the Government.

On the other side, such as zealously affect true honour, affirme vertue to bee the same both in Prince & people; neither doth condition of state, or calling, or the qualitie of publicke or priuate businesse, alter the nature and essence of goodnes; for, to deprive the tongue of truth and fidelity were to break the bond of ciuill society, which is the basis and ground-plot of all States and Common-weales. They doe not denie but that a wise Prince may so carrie a treatie, that he may seeme to affect that most which he least intendeth: or answer doubtfully concerning the propositions; and that hee may vse with great honour the prac-

prac-

practices and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consisteth vpon their owne industrie: but to breake any couenants agreed vpon, may wel get a kingdome, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the means, wherby a State is continued in happy gouernment: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this History, that he who falsifieth his word vpon aduantage, howsoeuer he regardeth his honour, had need to pay them home in regard of his owne safetie: for, if they once recouer the los, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers, they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæsar.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar marched directly to the Campe of the Germans, and cut them all in peeces, and so ended that warre.

Cæsar.



Upon these considerations, Cæsar manifesting his resolution to the Legates, and Quæstor, there happened a very fortunate accident. For, the next day, very early in the morning, most of the Princes and chieft of the Germans came vnto Cæsar into his Camp, to excuse their fraudulent practices, and with all to continue their petition of truce. Whereof Cæsar was exceeding glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant brought his Army out of the Camp, commanding his horsemen to follow the legions, because they had bin daunted with so late an ouerthrow: And making a triple battell, marched peaceably eight miles, and so came vpon the Germans, before they had notice what had hapned; & being terrified with our suddain arrivall, & the departure of their own leaders, knew not whether it were their best course, to bring forth their forces or defend their Cæp, or otherwise to seek their safety by flight. Which tumult & feare was no sooner perceiued by the Roman soldier, but calling to mind their perfidious treacherie, they brake into the Camp, and were at first a little resisted; in the meane time, the women and children fled every one away: which Cæsar perceiving, sent his horsemen to pursue them. The Germans, hearing the clamour and shriekings behind their backs, & seeing their friends pursued and slaine, did cast away their weapons, and fledde out of the Campe: and coming to the confluence of the Mase and the Rhene, such as had escaped, cast themselves into the river; where, what through feare & weariness, and the force of the water, they were all drowned. In this conflict, the Romans lost not a man. The number of the enemy was 430000, with women and children. To them who he had retained in his Campe, he gave leave to depart; but they, fearing the cruelty of the Gallies, desired that they might continue with the Romans: which Cæsar agreed vnto.

ORRER.

OBSERVATION.



*His relation affordeth little matter of warre, but onely a seuerer reuenge of hatefull treacherie: notwithstanding, I will hence take occasion, to discouer the offices of the Quæstor and the Legates; and shew what place they had in the Armie. And first, concerning the Quæstor, we are to vnderstand, that he was elected by the common voice of the people, in the same Court, which was called to create the Generall. His office was, to take charge of the publique treasure, whether it came out of their *Aerarium*, for the pay of the Armie; or otherwise was taken from the enemy.*

Of him the souldiers received their stipend, both in corne and money: and what other bootie was taken from the enemy, he either kept them, or sold them, for the vse of the Common-weale.

The Legates were not chosen by the people, but appointed by the Senate, as Assitants and Coadiutors to the Emperour, for the publique service, & were also gether directed by the Generall, in whose absence they had the absolute command: and their number was for the most part vncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carieth his Armie ouer into Germanie.



THE Germane warre beeing thus ended: Cæsar thought it necessarie, to transport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the Continent of Germanie, for many causes: whereof this was not the least, that seeing the Germans were so easily persuaded, to bring their Colonies, & their vagrant multitudes into Gallia, he thought it good to make known vnto them, that the Romaine people could at their pleasure, carie their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreover, those troupes of horse, which were absent at the late ouerthrowe of the Germans, were sleade into the confines of the Sicanbri; to whom, when Cæsar sent Messengers to demand them to be sent vnto him, they answered, that the Romaine Empire was limited by the Rhene: & if the Germanes were interdicted Gallia, why should Cæsar challenge anie authoritie in their quarters? Laſilie, the Vbi, who amongst all the rest of the Germanes, had onlie accepted of Cæsars friendship, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earnest sure vnto him, to send them aide against the Sueni; or at the least, to transport his Army ouer the Rhene: for, the name and opinion of the Roman Army was so great, & of such fame, what with Ariouſtus ouerthrow, &

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this last service, that it sounded honorable amongst the furthest Nations of Germany. For these reasons, Cæsar resolved to passe the Rhene: but to carrie his Armie over by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And, albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnesse, and depth of the river, to make a bridge: yet hee resolved to try what he could doe; otherwise, hee determined not to passe over at all: and so hee built a bridge after this manner.

At two foote distance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharpened at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the river: these hee let downe into the water with engines, and drew them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable-wise, and bending with the course of the water: opposite unto these, he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the same fashion, being fortie foote distant from the former, by the dimension between their lower parts in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the river. These two paire of couples thus placed, hee ioyned together with a beame of two foote square, equall to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each end, on either side of the couples, with braces and pinnies: whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such, that the greater violence of the streame was, and the faster it fell upon the timber worke, the stronger the bridge was united in the couplings and ioyns. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, untill the work was brought unto the other side of the river: and then hee laid straight planks from beame to beame, and covered them with hurdles; and so hee made a floore to the bridge. Moreouer, on the lower side of the bridge, hee drew down supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water; and on the upper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distance, hee placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what else the enemy might cast downe to trouble the worke: within tenne daies, that the timber beganne to be cut downe and caried, the worke was ended, and the Army transported. Cæsar, leaving a strong guard on at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicantri.

OBSERVATION.

IT shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as well in regard of the ingenious Architecture thereof, as also that we may somewhat imitate Cæsar: whom wee may observe to insitt with as great plenty of wit and eloquence, in presenting unto vs the subtiltie of his invention, in such manner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actions; as this particular description of the bridge, may sufficiently witness: besides the fortifications at Aleſia, & the intrenchments in Britany, for the safety of his shipping, with many other works, which he might well record, as the greatest effigies of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effects of magnanimous industrie, that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowesse: which his vertue had not expressed; or otherwise might wonder

wonder

wonder at that worth, which they themselves could not attaine unto. And to that purpose, he entertained Vitruvius, the Father of Architecture, and as worthily to be imitated in that facultie, as his Maister Cæsar is in feats of Armes. By whose example, a great Commander may learne, how much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest desigines with Art, and to effecme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematicall Muses, to shew themselves vnder the shape of a sensible forme; which albeit, through the rudenesse of the matter, fall farre short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perih.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefly in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the streame, and the lower ranke against the streame, when they came to be coupled together with overthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which hee nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the streame fell vpon the work, the faster the ioyns of the building were united, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expressed by any circumstance of words.

I might hence take occasion to speake of the diuersitie of bridges, and of the practises which antiquitie hath deuised, to transport Armies ouer Rivers: but inasmuch as it is a common subiect for all that undertake this Militarie task, & hath been handled by Lipsius, vpon the occasion of this bridge; I will refer the Reader to that place; and onely note the singular disposition of this action, inasmuch as Cæsar made the meanes correspondent to that end which hee intended. For, considering that the chiefeſt end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Romaine Empire, was not bounded with the Rhene; and that a river could not so separate their territories, but that they were able to ioyn both the Continents together, and make a common roade way, where it seemed most vnpassable: hee thought it best to passe ouer his Armie by a bridge, that to the Germanes might knowe the power of his forces, and also conceit their Territories, as united vnto Gallia; or to be vnitied at the pleasure of the Romans, with a firme Isthmus and plaine passage by foote, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mightie river. Neither would a transportation by boat haue wrought that effect, forasmuch as the daily vie thereof was so familiar to the Germanes, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnaccessible passage: but when they saw so strange a thing attempted, & so suddenly performed, they would easily vnderstand, that they were not so farre off, but that they might bee ouertaken: and so direct their demeanour accordingly.

Let it is suffice therefore to proue, that a passage ouer a river by a bridge, is more honourable, safe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuised; especially, if the river carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it haue either shallows or fordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incombrance, it were but lost labour to stand about a bridge, but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with such hindrances, as men often meet with a march.

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CHAP.

Lib. de Machi.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth libertie to the Vbij; and returneth againe into Gallia.

Cæsar.

THE Sicambri, vnderstanding that Cæsar was making a bridge ouer the Rhene, prepared themselves to flie; and at the perswasion of the Vspetes, forsooke their country, and conuatted themselves and their possessions into woods and solitarie Deserts. Cæsar, continuing a few daies in their quarters, hauing set on fire their villages and houses, and burned vp their Corne and prouision; he came to the Vbij, promising them aide against the Sueni: by whom, he vnderstood, that as soone as the Sueni had intelligence, that hee went about to make a bridge, calling a Councell, according to their manner, they sent vnto all quarters of their State, that they should forsake their townes, and carie their wives and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, should make head in one place, which they appointed to be the midst of their Country; & there they attended the coming of the Romans, & were resolved in that place to giue the battell. Which when Cæsar vnderstood, hauing ended all those things, in regard vvhich he came into Germanie, vvhich was chiefly to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged vpon the Sicambri, to set the Vbij as libertie; hauing spent in all eghteen daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his own honor, as the good of the Common-woale: hee returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: hee enquireth of Merchants, concerning the nature of that people.

Cæsar.

ALthough the Sommer was almost spent, & that in those parts the winter hastened on apace, inasmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithstanding, hee resolved to goe ouer into Britanie: forasmuch as hee vnderstood, that in all the former warres of Gallia, the Enemy had receiued most of their supplie from thence. And, although the time of the yeere would not suffer him to finish that warre; yet hee thought it would bee to good purpose, if he went onely to view the Iland, to vnderstand the qualitie of the inhabitants,

inhabitants, and to know their Coast, their Ports, & their landing places; whereof the Gallies were altogether ignorant: for, sildome any man but Marchants did trauell vnto them. Neither was there any thing discovered but the Sea-coast, & those Regions which were opposite vnto Gallia. And therefore, calling Marchants together from all quarters, he neither could vnderstand of what quantity the Iland was, what Nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what vse or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they vsed; nor what Hauens they had to receiue a Nanie of great shipping.

OBSERVATION.



THE Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Gallies, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had vpheld most of their warres, by furnishing them with such supplies, as from time to time they stood in need of. So that if Cæsar, or the Roman people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable government in Gallia, as they had chastised the insolencie of the Germans, and sent them backe againe, with greater losse then gain; so was it necessary to make the Britaines knowe, that their assistance in the warre of Gallia, would draw more busineses vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For, as I haue noted in my former discourses, the causes of an vnpeaceable government, are as well external and forraigne, as internal, and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Physician, to continue the body in a perfect state of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internal sicknesse whatsoeuer.

In the second Commentarie, I briefly touched the commoditie of good discouerie: but because it is a matter of great consequence, in the fortunate carriage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæsar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius, in the life of our Cæsar reporteth, that he neuer undertooke any expedition, but he first receiued true intelligence of the particular site and nature of the Country, as also of the manners and qualitie of the people: and that he would not undertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill hee had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and situation of the Iland. Which Suetonius might vnderstand by this first voyage, which Cæsar would needs vndertake in the later end of a Sommer, although it were as he himselfe saith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by ancient Writers, that those demi-gods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honour to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the resemblance of all parts; and namely, in the discouerie and knowledge of a Country: without which, all enterprizes, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres, were fruitles and of no effect. And therefore Xenophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth, that his expedition against the King of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of such sports, as hee had vied in hunting. Howlocuer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the

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dexterity of some Leaders it hath gained great victories, and through the negligence of others, irrecoverable overthrowes, are not sufficient motives to perswade them to this duty: let their owne experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weaknes of their proceedings, whē they are ignorant of the chiefeſt circumstances of the matter they haue in hand. But let this suffice in the second place, to proue the necessity of good discouerie; and let vs learn of Cæsar, what is principally to bee inquired after in the discouery of an vknown country; as first, the quantity of the land: secondly, what Nations inhabit it: thirdly, their vse of warre: fourthly, their ciuill government: and lastly, what Hauens they had to receiue a Naue of great shipping. All which circumstances, are such principall Arteries in the bodie of a State, that the discouery of any one of these demands, would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole body.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar sendeth C. Volusenus, to discouer the coast
of Britanie; and preparcth himselfe for
that voiage.



Cæsar.
Tiroanne, ou
Monitrell.

CÆSAR sent out Caius Volusenus, with a Galley, to discouer what he could concerning these things, and to returne againe vnto him very speedily: hee himselfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, vnto the Morini; forasmuch as from thence, lay the shortest cut into Britanie. Thither hee commaunded that shippes should be brought from all the maritime Citties of that quarter, and namely that fleet, which hee had built the yeere before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time, his resolution being knowne, and caried into Britanie by Merchants and others, many private States of that Iland sent Embassadors vnto him, promising him hostages of their loyalty, and signifying their readinesse to submit themselves to the Romaine Empire. To these he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and so sent them backe againe. And with them he sent Comius, whom he had made King of Arras, whose wisdom & vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in those Regions. To him hee gaue in charge to goe to as many of the States as hee could, and perswade them to accept of the friendship of the Romaine Empire, and that Cæsar himselfe would presently follow after.

Volusenus, having taken what view of the Country he could (for he durst not goe on shore to commit himselfe to the barbarisme of the enemy) after fīue daies returned to Cæsar: and while hee staid in those places, for the furnishing of his fleet, the Morini sent Messengers vnto him, excusing their former faulces, and manifesting their readinesse to obey his mandates.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, not willing to leaue any enemy behind him, or to neglect his voyage into Britanie, for such small matters; hee willingly accepted of their submission, having first received many hostages of them, and having made readie eighty ships of burthen, which he thought sufficient to transport two legions, he diuided the Gallies to the Quæstor, the Legates, and the Commanders of the horse. There were also eigheteene ships of burthen more, which lay wind-bound at a Port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horsemen. The rest of the Army, he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Aruncleius Cotta, commaunding them to goe to the confines of Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keep the Port, with a sufficient guarizon.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie, and landeth
his men.



THESE things being thus dispatched; having a good wind, in the third watch, he put out to Sea, commanding his horsemen to imbarke themselves at the further Port; which was but slowly performed: He himselfe arriued vpon the coast about the fourth houre of the day, where hee found all the Clifts possessed with the forces of the enemy. The nature of the place was such, that the hills lay so steep over the sea, that a weapon might easily be cast, from the higher ground vpon the lower shore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithstanding, hee cast anchor vntill the rest of the Naue were come vpon him.

Cæsar.

In the meane time, calling a Councell of the Legates and Tribunes, hee declared vnto them what aduertisements he had receiued by Volusenus, and told them what he would haue done; and withall, admonished them, that the course of Militarie affaires, and especially Sea matters, that had so suddaine & vnconstant a motion, required all things to be done at a becke, and in due time. The Councell being dismissed, having both wind and tide with him, hee waighed anchor, and sailed eight miles from that place, vnto a plaine and open shore.

The Britaines, perceiving the Romans determination, sent their horse & chariots before, and the rest of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romaines intended to land. Cæsar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for these respects: the shippes were so great, that they could not be brought neere vnto the shore; the souldiers in strange & vknownne places, having their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one instant to goe out of the ship, to withstand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemy; where-as the Britaines either standing vpon the shore, or making short sallies into the water, did boldly cast their weapons in knowne and frequented places, and managed their horses, as accustomed to such seruices.

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The Romans being terrified with these things, and altogether unskilfull of this kind of fight, did use the same courage as they were wont to doe in land-services. Which while Cæsar perceived, he caused the Gallies, that were both strange to the Brittaines, and readier for use, to be removed from the shippes of burthen, and to be rowed up and downe, and laid against the open side of the enemy; that from thence, with slings, engines and arrowes, the Enemy might bee beaten up from the water side, which flood the Romans in good stead: for, the Britains, being troubled with the strangenesse of the Gallies, the motion of their Oares, and the unuall kind of engines, were somewhat dismayed, and beganne to retire backe, and give way to the Romans. But the souldiers still lingering, and especially for feare of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, desiring the Gods, that it might fall out happily to the legion: If you will, saith hee, forsake your Eagle, O yee souldiers, and betray it to the enemy: for mine owne part, I will doe my dutie, both to the Common-weale, and to my Imperator. And having spoken this with a loud voice, he cast himselfe into the Sea, and carried the Eagle toward the Enemy. The Romanes, exhorting one another, not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, they all leaped out of the shippe: which when others that were neerer at hand perceived, they followed them with as great alacrity, and pressed toward the enemy to encounter with them.

The fight on both parts was very eager: the Romans (not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their Ensignes, forasmuch as every man kept with those Ensignes which he first met withall) were wonderfully troubled. But the Enemy, acquainted with the flats and shallows, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their shippes, putting spurres to their horse, would set upon them incombred and unprepared, & many of them would over-lay a few: others, would get the advantage of the open side, and cast their weapons amongst the thickest troupes of them. Which when Cæsar perceived, he caused the ship-boates and smaller vessels to be manned with souldiers: and where he saw need of help, hee sent them to rescue such as were overcharged.

As soone as the Romanes got footing on the firme land, they made head together, and charged the enemy, and sought them to flight; but they were not able to follow them, nor take the land at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was onely wanting to Cæsars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

UPon this circumstance of landing, I may iustly take occasion to handle that controuersie, which hath beene often debated by our English Capitaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an invasion, & in the absence of our shipping, to oppose an enemy at his landing vpon our Coast; or quietly to suffer him to sette his men on shore, and retire our forces into some in-land place, & there attend to giue him battell: It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion,

on, that we ought not by any means to encounter an enemy at his landing; for, so we might much endanger our selues and our Country; did ground themselves vpon the authority of Monsieur de Langey, not observing the difference between an Iland and a Continent. For, where he setteth downe that position, he plainly aimeth at such Princes, as border one vpon another in the same Continent: but where their territories are disioyned by so great a bar as the Ocean, and haue not such means to surpris one another, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appeare by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first lay downe the reasons, that may be vrged to proue it vnwise to oppose an enemy at his landing, not as being vrged by that party (for, I neuer heard any probable motive from them, which might induce any such opinion) but set downe by such as haue looked into the controuersies, both with experience, and good iudgement.

And first, it may be objected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vncertainty of place, as of time: for, being ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, we must either defend all places of acceffe, or our intentions will proue meere fruitles; & to performe that, it is requisite that our defensiu forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualitie of euery place subiect to danger: which, considering the large extension of our maritime parts, and the many landing places on our Coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland can afford. And although it could furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some sort sufficient; yet the vncertainty of the time of the enemies arrival, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon, or neere the places of danger, many daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which would exhaust a greater masse of Treasure, then could bee well afforded by the State.

Secondly, it may bee objected, that all our landing places are of such disadvantage for the defendants, that it were no safetie at all to make head against him at the landing: for, inasmuch as such places are open & plaine, they yield no commoditie to shelter the defendants from the furie of the artillerie, wherewith the Enemy will plentifully furnish their long boates and landing vessell; which beating vpon the beach (for, most of our landing places are of that qualitie) will so scatter them, that no man shall be able to indure the inconuenience thereof.

The third obiection, may arise from the disparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first, it must needs bee granted, that the defendants, being to guard so many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to euery particular place for defence, as the assailants may for offence.

Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without question, that a great & potent Prince (for, such a one it must be, that undertaketh to invade the territories of so absolute and well obeyed a Princesse as her Maestie is) would draw out the flower of his souldierie wheresoever; besides, the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which doe commonlie attend such seruices. Now, these being thus qualified,

qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one bodie: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt being vncertaine) that the defendants should equall them with forces of like vertue and experience?

These are the reasons, which may be drawne from the disadvantage, which they haue that goe about to oppose an enemy at his landing: the rest that haue bene vrged, by such as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the question, or taken altogether from false grounds. But before I proceed to the aunswere of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle: That it is impossible for any forraigne Prince, how puissant soeuer, to make such a preparation as shall be fitting, to invade a State so populous, and respectiue of their Soueraigntie (notwithstanding the pretences deuised to dissemble the same) but it must of necessity be discovered, before it can be made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for so great a fleet. But I will rest my selfe in the example of the yeere 88, which proueth the dilcouery of the pretended inuasion, before it could come to execution.

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed be denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtful, and therefore our care must generally extend it selfe to all places of access: but that our defensive forces are not sufficient in a competent manner to guard all such places, according as the necessity of them that I require: that is the point in question.

To proue that our forces are sufficient: we must necessarily enter into particularities, wherein I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof, which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritime parts, as any other within this kingdom. For the reach thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nettle by Lyd, which is the westernmost skirr vpon the coast of Suffex, vnto Margate, vpon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twentie foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not, that the fixt part thereof is not subiect to the landing of such an enemy as wee speake of: partly, in regard of the hugeness of the chiftes, which doe inclose a great part of that skirr; & partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an Armie that should put it selfe there on shore, should find it selfe, being opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparent ruine of their whole forces.

Further, it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelves, flats, and other impediments, that a Naue of great shippes can haue no commoditie to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part, the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it will appere that this large skirr of Kent, will afford a far lesser part fit for the landing of an Army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publike a treasure as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would vndertake to make it

*Answer to
the first ob-
iection.*

it so euident, by the particular description, both of the numbers, quantitie, and qualitie of the places themselves, as no man of an indifferent iudgement, would imagine our forces to be insufficient, to afford euery of them such a safe & sure guard, as shall be thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vntitting to giue such particular satisfaction in this publike discourse, giue mee leaue, submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to giue a generall rasse of that meanes as would secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Having shewed you before, the circuit of the maritime parts of Kent, I would obserue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shall be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I will suppose the number to bee twelue thousand, of which I would lodge three thousand about the point of Nettle, and three thousand about Margate, and fixe thousand about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for, my greatest care should bee so to dispose of them, as they might not only succour one another in the same shire: but as euery shire bordereth one vpon another; so they should mutually giue helpe one vnto another, as occasion should be offered: as if the enemy should attempt a landing about Nettle, not onely the fixe thousand lodged as before, should march to their succours, but such also of the Suffex forces as were neer vnto that part; & so likewise of the rest. By which you may see, how great a force would in few houres be assembled, for the reinforcing of any of these out-skirts; and the rather, forasmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces, are thus lodged in the center of the Shire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place whatsoever. There would also in the quartering of them, an especiall care be had to the places of danger, as might be answerable to the importance thereof: for, my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along the coast, by regiments and companies, as the Country might afford best opportunities to entertaine them.

Now, concerning the later part of this obiection, which vrgeth the vncertainty of time, when the enemy shall make his approaches: I hold it most requisite, that our defensive forces should be drawne into a head, before the enemy should be discovered neer our coast, ready to put himselfe on shore: for, it were a grosse absurditie to imagine, that companies could vpon such a suddaine bee assembled, without confusion; and make so long a march, with such expedition, as the necessity of the occasion would require. Now, for that husbanding respect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrged to such extremitie, as it would be vnprofitable for this State to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that supposed immoderate expence; so I assure my selfe, that men of sound iudgement, will deeme it much out of season to dispute about vnecessary thrust, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of being made subiect to a stranger:

*Et ingulcent homines surgunt de nocte latrones:
Non expers gesseris, ut te ipsum serues?*

The enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000 men in pay 2 months before, to make hauocke of our Country, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome;
shall

I shall we thinke it much to maintaine sufficient forces vpon our Coast, to assure our selues that no such enemy shall enter into our Country: The extremitie of this charge, would be qualified by our good espial, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessitie which is imposed vpon vs, to be carefull in businesse of this nature. Let this suffice therefore to proue, that our forces are sufficient to keepe the Sea-coast; and that the vncertainie of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and Country, imposeh vpon euery good subject; which is the substance of the first reason, which I set down in the beginning of this discourse.

*The answer
to the second
reason.*

Now, concerning the second reason, which vrgeeth the disadvantage of the place, in regard of the furie of the Enemies artillery. True it is, that such places as yeeld the Enemy commoditie of landing, are for the most part plaine and open, and afford naturally no couert at all. What then? shall a souldier take euery place as he findeth it, and vse no Art to qualifie the disadvantages thereof? Or shall a man forgoe the benefit of a place of aduantage, rather then hee will relucue with industry, the discommoditie of some particular circumstance? I make no question, but an ingenious Commander, being in seasonable time lodged with conuenient forces vpon any of those places, yea, vpon the beach it selfe, which is vnapt to make defensible, as any place whatsoeuer, would vse such industry, as might giue sufficient securitie to his forces, & ouer-weigh the Enemy with aduantage of place; especially, considering that this age hath afforded such plentifull examples of admirable inuentions in that behalfe. But this cannot be done, if our forces do not make head before the instant of the Enemies attempt, that our Commanders may haue some time to make readie store of Gabions, hand-baskets, with such moueable matter as shall be thought fit for that seruice.

Neither let this trouble any man: for, I dare auouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a head before the Enemy bee discouered vpon the Coast, although wee neuer meane to oppose their landing, but attend them in some inland place, to giue them battaile; our Commanders will be faine to seeke of manie important circumstances, which are requisite in a matter of that consequence. And therefore, let vs haue but a reasonable time to be thinke our selues of these necessities, and wee will easilie ouercome all these difficulties, and vse the benefite of the firme land to repell an Enemy, weakened with the Sea, toiled with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with many other hinderances and discouragements, which are preiudiciall vnto him both from the Land and the Sea. Hec that saw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Fiall, in the yeere 97, can some-what iudge of the difficultie of that matter: for, what with the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffes, the troublefomnesse of their Armes, the souldiers were to incombred, that had not the Enemy been more then a coward, he might well with two hundred men, haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

*The answer
to the 3 reason*

Concerning the third Obiection, this briefly shall bee sufficient, that wee are not so much to regard, that our forces doe equalle them in number,

as

as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good against the Enemies landing: for, wee know that in places of aduantage and difficult accessse, a small number is able to oppose a great; and wee doubt not, but all circumstances duly considered, wee shall proportionably equall the Enemy, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our State shall neuer bee destitute of sufficient forces trayned, and exercised in a comperent manner, to defende their Countrey from forraine Enemies. For, the neglect thereof were to drawe on such as of themselves are but too forward to make a pry of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onlie to oppose an Enemies landing, but to defende our selues from beeing overrunne, as other Nations liuing in securitie, without due regarde thereof, haue bene.

And this much concerning the answer to those three reasons, which seeme to proue that an Enemy is not to be resisted at his landing. Now if wee doe but looke a little into the discommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an Enemy, we shall easily discouer the dangerousnesse of this opinion: as first, we giue him leave to liue vpon the spoile of our Country; which cannot be prevented by any wasting, spoiling, or retiring of our prouisions, in so plentifull a Country as this is, especially considering that we haue no strong townes at all to repose our selues vpon. Whereof we need no further testimonie, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the seventh booke of these Commentaries, in that warre, which Cæsar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly, weakened at such times; whereby all necessary means to maintain a war is hardly drawn frõ the subject. Thirdly, opportunity is giuen to malecontents & ill disposed persons; either to make head themselves, or to tie to the Enemy. Fourthly, the madnesse to aduenture a kingdome vpon one stroke, hauing it in our disposition to do otherwise, with many other disadvantages, which the opportunity of any such occasion would discouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He word Imperator, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæsar, was the greatest title that could be giuen to a Romane Leader: and as Zonaras in his second Tome saith, was neuer giuen but vpon some great exploit, and after a iust victory obtained; and then in the place where the battaile was fought, and the Enemy ouerthrowne, the Generall was saluted by the name of Imperator, with the triumphant shout of the whole Armie; by which acclamation, the souldiers gaue testimonie of his worth; and made it equiualent with the most fortunate Commanders.

This Ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Roman Empire, as appeareth by manie Histories, and namely by Tacitus, where hee saith, that Tiberius gaue that honour to Blesus, that hee should bee saluted Imperator by the

*Of the name
Imperator.*

3. Annal.

the legions; which hee sheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the Enemy, with an eminent ouerthrow. For, euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might challenge for great an honour, but there was required (as it seemeth) a certaine number of the Enemies to be slaine. Appian in his second book sayth, that in olde time the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploits: but in his time 10000. of the Enemies being slaine in one battell, was a sufficient ground of that honour. Cicero sayth, that 2000. slaine in the place, especially of Thracians, Spaniards or Gallies, did worthily merit the name of Imperator. Howfoeuer; it seemeth by the same Author, that there was a certaine number of the Enemy required to be slaine, where he sayth, *Se iusta victoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

Phil. 14.

Lib. 2. cap. 9.

CHAP. XI.

The Britaines make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe vpon the losse of the Roman shipping.

Cæsar.



He Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; assoone as they had recovered their safety by flight, they presently dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreat for peace, promising hostages & obedience, in whatsoeuer he commanded. And with these Ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britany. Cæsar complained, that whereas they sent vnto him into Gallia to desire peace, notwithstanding as his coming they made war against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, hee commanded hostages to be deliuered vnto him: which they presently performed in part; and the rest being to be set further off, should likewise bee rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they commanded their people to retorne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commend themselves and their States to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; foure daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the 18. ships which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle wind: and approaching so neere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Roman Camp; there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the port from whence they came; other some were cast vpon the lower part of the land, which lieth to the West-ward; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselves againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were very high in those seas; whereof the Romans beeing altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne up vpon the shoare were sild with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that lay at anchour, were shaken with the tem-

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tempest; neither was there any help to be giuen vnto them: so that many of them were vent, and split in peeces; and the rest lost both their anchors, gables and other sacking, and by that means became altogether vnseruiceable. Whereas the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; for there was no other shipping to recarry them backe againe: Neither had they any necessaries to new furnish the olde: and every man knew that they must needs winter in Gallia; forasmuch as there was no prouision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing being known to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to confire of such things as Cæsar had commanded them to performe when they vnderstood that the Romans wanted both their horsemen, shipping and prouision of corn, and considering of the paucity of their forces, by the small circuit of their Campe; and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his souldiers without such necessary cariages, as they vsed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romans from corne and conueyes of prouision, and so prolong the matter, untill winter came on. For, they thought that if these were once ouerthrowne and cut off from turning into Gallia, neuer any man would afterwar aduenture to bring an Army into Britanie: therefore they conspired againe the second time, and consuaid themselves by stealth out of the Camp, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in some conuenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and the causes thereof it hath already been handled in the second book: to which I will adde this much, as may serue to shew, how the Romans became so ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and newe of the Moone. It is obserued by experience, that the motion of this waterie element is altogether directed by the course of the moony wherein she exerciseth her regency, according as shee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And forasmuch as al mediterranean seas, & such gulls as are inclosed in sinues and bolomes of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallness of their quantity, are not so capable of celestiall power, as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followeth, that the Tuscan seas, wherein the Romans were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the main sea, whose bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plentiful abundance of his parts, better answereth the vertue of the Moon. The Ocean therefore being thus obedient to the course of the celestiall bodies, taking his course of flowing fro the North, falleth with such a current between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that the filletth our channell between England and France, with great swelling tides; & maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other parts of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receiue the tyde as it cometh, and hauing withall a plaine

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levelled belly, and a very final fresh current, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known river of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the spring tides in the full of the moon.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Such as either by their own experience, or otherwise by observation of that which history recordeth, are acquainted with the government of Common weales, are not ignorant with what difficultie a nation, that either hath long lived in libertie, or bin gouerned by Commanders of their owne choosing, is made subiect to the yoke of bondage, or reduced vnder the obedience of a stranger. For, as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill society; so by the same nature wee desire a free disposition of our selues and possessions; as the chiefe end of the saide societie: and therefore in the government of a subdiuided State, what losse or disadvantage happeneth to the Victor, or how indirectly, fouer it concerneth the band of their thraldomy, the captiue people behold it as a part of their aduersaries on either way; and conceiue thereupon such spirits as answer the greatness of their hope, and fort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that seem easie to be effected which it desireth. And this was the reason that the Britains altered their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had receiued in their shipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar new trimmeth his late shaken nauie: the Britains set vpon the Romans as they haruested; but were put off by CÆSAR.

Cæsar.



Cæsar although hee had not discovered their determination, yet conceiuing of the euent by the losse of his shipping, and by their desire of giuing up hostages, hee provided against all chaunces: for, hee brought corne daily out of the fieldes into his Campe, and tooke the bulks of such shippes as were most dismembred, and with the timber and brasie therof he mended the rest that were beaten with the tempest, causing other necessaries to be brought out of Gallia, which being handled with the great industry and travell of the souldiers, he lost onely twelue shippes, and made the other able to abide the Sea.

While these things were in action, the seventh legion being sent out by course, to fetch in corne, and little suspecting any motion of warre, as part of the souldiers continued in the field, and the rest went and came between them & the Campe the

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the station that watched before the gate of the Campe, gave advertisement to Cæsar, that the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust then was usually seen. Cæsar suspecting that which indeed was true, that the Britains were entred into some new resolution, he tooke those two cohorts which were in station before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the rest to arm themselves, and presently to follow him, and went that way, where the dust was descried. And when he had marched some distance from the Campe, he saw his men overcharged with the Enemy, & scarce able to sustain the assault, the legion thronged together on a heap, & weapons cast from all parts amongst them. For, when they had haruested all other quarters, they remained one piece of corn, whither the Enemy suspected the Romans would at last come; and in the night time conuained themselves secretly into the woods, where they continued untill the Romans were come into the field: and as they saw them disarmed, dispersed and occupied in reaping, they suddenly set vpon them, and slaying some fewe of them, rowted the rest and encompassed them about with their bowemen, and Chariots. Their manner of fight with Chariots, was first to ride up and down & cast their weapons, as they sawe advantage; and with the terror of their horses and rattling of their wheeles, to disorder the companies; and when they had wound themselves between any troups of horse, they forsook their Chariots and fought on foot: in the mean time, the guides of their chariots would drine a little aside, & so plate themselves, that if their masters needed any helpe, they might haue an easie passage vnto them. And thus they performed, in all their fights, both the nimble motion of bowemen, and the firme stability of footmen; and were so ready with daily practise, that they could staie in the declivity of a steep hill, and turne short or moderate their going, as it seemed best vnto them; and run along the beam of the coach and rest vpon the yoke, or harnesse of their horses, and return as speedily again at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæsar came to rescue them in very good time: for at his coming, the Enemy stood still, and the souldiers gathered their spirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almost spent. Cæsar taking it an vnfit time, either to prouoke the Enemy, or to giue him battell, he continued a while in the same place: and then returned with the legions into the Campe. While these things were a-doing, and the Romans thus busied, the Britains that were in the field, conuained themselves a way.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

By this we plainly find, that there were usually two cohorts (which according to the rate of 120. in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720. men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the Campe, & were alwaies in readines vpon any seruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident: for, considering that the aduertisement required halfe and speedy recourse; greatly furthered their rescue, to haue so many men ready to march forward at the first motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the rest of their fellows came in.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeir manner of fight with Chariots, is very particularly described by Cæsar, and needeth not to be flood vpon any longer: only I obserue that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europ, the vse of Chariots is euer mentioned: but they haue euer beene attributed, as a peculiar sight, vnto the Easterne Countries, as futable to the plain and leuell situation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the Scripture: which may serue for an argument to Geoffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines descent from Troy in Asia, where we likewise finde mention of such Chariots.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, wee may obserue the discreet and moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes hec vsed to make his souldiers confident in his directions: for, notwithstanding the Britaines had exceedingly vraged him, to make hazard of a present reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inasmuch as his men had beene somewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britains) he thought it best to expect some other opportunitie. And againe, to auoid the inconueniencies of a fearefull retreat, hee continued a while in the same place, to imbolden his men with the sight of the Enemy. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perswasion in his souldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull respect of their safetie: which gaue his men resolution when they were carried vpon seruice; being assured that what seruice soeuer they were imploied vpon, was most diligently to be performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate issue of that warre: where, if they had perceiued, that headstrong fury (which carrieth men on with a desire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes whereby it may be obtained) had directed the course of their proceedings, they might with reason haue drawn back from such employments, and valued their safety about the issue of such an enterprise. And hence ariseth that confident opinion, which the souldiers haue of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the course of warre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and
are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into
GALLIA.



After this for manie dayes together, there followed such tempests and foule weather, that both the Romans were constrained to keepe their Campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters, publishing the small number of the Roman forces, & amplifying the greatnesse of the booty, & the easie means offered vnto them of perpetuall liberty, if they could take the Roman Campe. Shortly, vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horse and foot; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæsar (although he foreawe the event by that which before had hapned, that if the Enemy were beaten back, he would auoid the danger by flight) yet hauing som 30. horse, which Cornius of Arra had carried with him, at his coming into Britany, he imbattailed his legions before his Campe; & so gaue them battel. The Enemy not being able to beare the assault of the Roman souldiers, turned their backs & fled: the Romans followed them, as far as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their towns farre and neere, they returned to their Camp. The same day the Britains sent messengers to Cæsar, to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And forasmuch as the Aquinoctium was at hand; he thought it not safe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shipping: and therefore hauing got a conuenient time, he hoised saile a little after midnight, and brought all his ships safe vnto the Continent. Two of these ships of burthen, not being able to reach the same haven, put in somewhat lower into the land: the souldiers that were in them being about 300. being set on shore, and marching towardes their Campe, the Morini, with whom Cæsar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a booty, first with a fewe of their men stood about them, commanding them vpon paine of death to lay downe their weapons: & as the Romans by casting themselves into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noise and clamour amongst them, there were suddenly gathered together about 6000. of the Enemy. Which thing being knowne, Cæsar sent out all the horsemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans sustained the force of the Enemy, and fought valiantly the space of foure houres; and receiving themselves some few wounds, they slew many of the Enemy. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the Enemy cast away their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

Cæsar.

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OBSER.

OBSERVATION.

IF al the figures which the *Tactick* haue chosen to make vse of in military affairs; the circle hath euer been taken for the fittest, to be applied in the defensiuē part, as inclosing with an equall circuit on all parts whatsoeuer is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometrie teacheth a circumference a simple line, forasmuch as if you alter the size of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equal bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which propriety, as it proueth an vniformity of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be said that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flank: So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3. of his Elements, concerning the small affinity between a right line, and a circle (which being drawn to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatness of this strength in regarde of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, how soeuer they seem, as speculative qualities, conceiued rather by intellectual discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehension; yet forasmuch as experience hath proued the strength of this figure, in a defensiuē part, about any other manner of imbatailing; lets vs not neglect the knowledge of these naturall properties, which discover the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this part of military knowledge, being so strong a means to maintain valour, & the finew of al our abilities: for, order correspondent to circumstances is the whole strength and power of an Army. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or void of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eat nor sleep, without the direction of the Consull, or chief Commanders; otherwise their valour might rather haue been tearmed fury then vertue; but when their courage was ranged with order, and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the faide order continued perfect.

It appeareth therefore, how important it is for a Commander to look into the diuersity of orders for imbatailing, and to waigh the nature thereof; that he may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans tearmed this figure, *Orbis*; which significth a round body both with a concaue, and a conuex surface: in resemblance whereof, I vnderstand this Orbe of men imbatailed to be so named, which might peraduenture consist of fūe, or more, or fewer ranks, inclosing one another after the nature of so many circles, described about one Center: so that either the middlest thereof remained void, or otherwise contained such carriages, and impediments, as they had with them in their match. This form of imbatailing was neuer vled, but in great extremitie: for, as it was the safest of all others; so it gaue suspition to the soldiers of exceeding danger: which abated much of their heat in battel, as will hereafter appeare by the testimony of Cæsar himself, in the first Commentarie, vpon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THe next daie, Cæsar sent Titus Labienus a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britany, against the reuolted Morini; who hauing no place of refuge because their boggs & fennes were dried up, where they had sheltered themselves the year before; they al fell vnder the power of his mercy. Titurius, & A. Cotta the Legats, who had led the legions against the Menapij, after they had wasted their fields; cut up their corn, burned their houses (for, the Menapij were all hid in thicke woods) they returned to Cæsar: these things being thus ended, Cæsar placed the wintering Camps of al his legions amongst the Belgæ; to which place two only of all the Cities in Britany, sent hostages vnto him: the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: vpon the relation of Cæsars letters, the Senat decreed a supplicatiō for the space of 20. daies.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

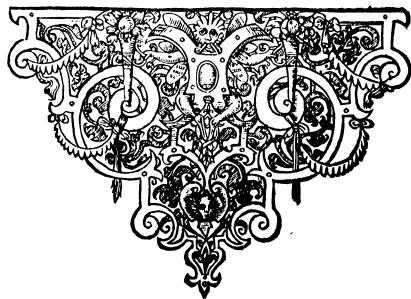
IN the end of the second Commentary, we read of a supplication granted by the Senat, for 15. daies; which was neuer granted to any man before that time, since the first building of the Cite: but forasmuch as in this fourth year of the wars in Gallia, it was augmented from 15. vnto 20. daies, I thought it fit to refer the handling thereof, vnto this place. We are therefore to vnderstand, that whensoever a Roman Generall had earned himself well in the wars, by gaining a victory, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire: that then the Senat did decree a supplication to the gods, in the name of that Captain. And this dignity was much sought after, not onely because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their gods should be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concurse & gratulation of the Roman people; but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honor in the Roman government. And therefore Cato nameth it the prerogative of a triumph. And Liue in his 26. book saith, that it was long disputed on in the Senat, how they could dew one that was there present to triumph, whose absence they had honoured with supplication, & thanksgiving to the gods, for things happily effected. The manner of the Cereemonie was; that after the Magistrate had publickly proclaimed it with this form or stile, *quod bene & feliciter rempublicam administrasset*; the Roman people clothed in white garments, & crowned with garlands, went to all the Temples of the gods, and there offered sacrifices, to gratulate the victory in the name of the General. In which time they were forbidden all other busineses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplication, was at first included within one or two daies at the most. as appeareth by Liue in his third book, where he saith, that the victory gained by two severall battells, was sphefully shut vp by the Senat in one daie, supplication; the people of their own accord keeping the next day holy, & celebrating it with greater deuotion than the former.

Li 15. fam. Guerra.

Vooi

Vpon the victory which Camillus had against the Veij, there were granted foure daies of supplication; to which there was after ward a daie added, which was the vsuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsuall time of fiue daies was doubled, and made 10. and in the second of these Commentaries, made 15. and now brought to 20. daies. Which fetch forth the incitements and rewards of well doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to such as in-
deuoured to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their Common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.

THE



THE FIFT COMMENTARY OF THE WARRE, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

Cæsar caused a great navy to be built in Gallia: he caried 5. legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Galles revolted; and first the Eburones, vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the Camp of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumvented by subtilty; and then besieged the Camp of Cicero: but were put by, and their Army ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great
store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commaundeth
them to be brought to the haven Iccius.

Cæsar. **C**æsar Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls, Cæsar at his going into Italy, gave order to the Legats to builde as many ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are used in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & unlading of them, and because the tides in these seas were very great: and forasmuch as he was to transport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their lowe building serued very conveniently. Other necessities and furniture for rigging, he gave order to haue it brought out of Spain. Cæsar after the assembly of the States in Lombardy, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Pirustæ, he returned into Gallia: where he found 600. ships built, by the extraordinary industry of the soldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessary matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hauing commended the soldiers and ouerscers of the work, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britany, was not above thirty mile ouer.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Icius Portus, Floide thinketh to bee Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer: partly in regarde of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe very lowe, hath notwithstanding very high banks, which incompasse the towne about; and in times past was a very large haven. To this may be added the distance from this towne, to the next Continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320. stadia, which agreeth to the French computation of 13. leagues. Cæsar maketh it thirty mile: this is the haven, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum*.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, and seeketh the Enemie.

Cæsar.

Cæsar having prepared all things in readinesse, he left Labienus in the Continent with three legions, & 2000. horse, both to keep the haven & make provision of cornes, and also to observe the motion of the Galles: and with 5. legions & the like number of horse, as he left in the Continent, about sun-setting he put out to sea, with a soft south wind, which continued untill midnight; and then ceasing he was carried with the tide untill the morning, when he perceived that the Iland lay on his left hand: and again, as the tide changed, he laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where hee had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the soldiers deserved great commendation; for, by strength & force of Oares, they made their great ships of burthen to keepe waite with the Galleies. About high noon, they arrived in Britany, with all their ships: neither was there any Enemy scene in that place: but as afterward Cæsar understood by the Captives, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinit number of shipping, which they discovered from the shore (for there were in al about 800) they forsook the shore: & hid themselves in the upland country. Cæsar having landed his men, and chosen a convenient place to incamp, as soon as he understood by the captives where the enemy lay, in the 3. watch of the night, he marched towards them, leaving ten cohorts & 300. horse for a garrison to his shipping: which he the lesse feared, because it lay at anchor in a soft & open shore: he marched that night about 12. mile before he found the Enemy. The Britains sending out their horse, and chariots to a river that ran between them & the Romans, and having the advantage of the upper ground; began to hinder the Romans and to give them battell: but being beaten backe with our horsemen, they conuied themselves into a wood. The place was strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and made for a defence (as it seemeth) in their ciuill

warres:

warre: for, all the entrances were shut up with great trees, laid ouerthwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselves out of the wood both heere and there, not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the souldiers of the 7. legion, with a Testudo which they made, and a mount which they raised, tooke the place, and drave them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; saving some few wounds which they received. But Cæsar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long pursuit, because he was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that day being spent, he would employ the rest thereof in the fortification of his Campe.

OBSERVATION.

Cæsar, having taken what assurance of peace hee could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefe of their Princes with him, and by leaving three legions in the Continent, to keep the vulgar people in obedience; he embarked all his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same adventures: which being neglected the yeare before, drew him into many inconveniences for want of horse, which being imbarcked at another Haven, met with other chances, & saw other fortunes; & neuer came to him into Britanie. The place of landing in this second voyage, was the same where he landed the yeare before: & by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is said that Cæsar landed. In the first yeare we find, that he neuer remoued his Campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in Corne, as far as they might wel returne again at night: but now he entered further into the Iland, and within twelve miles march came vnto a river, which must needs be that of Canterbury, which falleth into the Sea at Sandwich.

In that he saith that the guarizon of his shipping consisted of tenne cohorts, which I haue said to be a legion: we must understand, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that guarizon; but he tooke tenne cohorts out of his whole forces, peradventure two out of euery legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his Nauies, to take order for such losses as had happened by tempest the night before.



HE next day, earlie in the morning, hee diuided his forces into three companies, and sent them out to pursue the enemy: but before they had marched any farre distance, and came to haue the reuerward of the Enemy in view; there came newes from *Q. Atrius*, with

Cæsar.


2.

whom

whom he left the ten cohorts, & the charge of the shipping, that the night before, there was such a tempest at sea, that the whole Naue was either sore beaten, or cast on shore; and that neither anchor nor gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather: and that there was great losse in the shipping, by running against one another, in the violence of the tempest.

Vpon these newes; Cæsar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from following the enemy any further. Hee himselfe returned to the Navy, where he found forty ships lost, and the rest, not to be repaired, but with great industry and paines: first, therefore, he chose Ship-wrightes and Carpenters out of the legions, and caused others to be sent for out of Gallia, and wrote to Labienus to make ready what shipping he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty & much labour, yet hee thought it best, to hale up all the ships on shore, and to inclose them within the fortification of his Campe. In this businesse he spent ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, untill he had drawne up the ships, and strongly fortified the Campe; leaving the same garrison which was there before, to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

 Herein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully teacheth it) which hee vied to prevent Fortune of her stroke in his buisness, and comprehend casualties and future contingents, within the compasse of order, & the bounds of his owne power, being able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred shipping from the hazard of wind and weather; & to make his Campe the Road for his Naue, that so hee might rest secure of a meane to returne at his pleasure.

CHAP. III.

The Britaines make Cæsiuellaunus Generall in this warre: the Iland, and the manners of the people described.

Cæsar.




CÆSAR, returning to the place from whence he came, found far greater forces of the Britaines there assembled, then he left when he went to the Naue: and that by publike consent of the Britaines, the whole government of that warre was given to Cæsiuellaunus, whose kingdome lay divided from the maritime States, with the river Thames, beginning at the sea, & extending it selfe fourescore mile into the Iland. This Cæsiuellaunus, made continuall warre with his neighbour States: but vpon the coming of the Romaines, they all forgot their home-bred quarrel, and cast the whole government vpon his shoulders, as the fittest to direct that warre.

The

The inner parts of Britaine is inhabited, by such as memorie recordeth to be borne in the Iland, and the maritime coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the Citties from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like vnto them in Gallia. They haue great store of castell, & vse brasse for money or iron rings, weighed at a certaine rate. In the Mediterranean parts, there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritime parts, iron: their brasse was brought in by other Nations. They haue all sorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the Fig and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding, they haue of all sorts, as well for noueltie as varietie. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the Iland lieth triangle-wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherein Kent is, pointerh to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. Another side lieth toward Spaine, and the West, that way where Ireland lieth being an Iland halfe a big as England, and as farre distant from it as Gallia. In the midway betweene England and Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, besides many other smaller Ilands; of which some write, that in Winter-time, for thirtie daies together, they haue continuall night: whereof we learned nothing by inquirie; onely we found by certain measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter then in the Continent: the length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth seauen hundred mile. The third side lieth to the North & the open sea, sawing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie: this side is thought to containe eight hundred miles; and so the whole Iland containeth in virenis 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most courteous and ciuill; all their Countrey bordering vpon the sea, & little differing from the sabbion of Gallia. Most of the in-land people sowe no Corne, but tye with milke and fesh, clothed with skinner, & hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing all other parts of their body shaven, sawing their upper lip. Their wines are common to tenne or twelue, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first giuen in mariage.

OBSERVATION.

 In the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedigree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vnderstand, that in those ages, the Nations of the world thought it no small honour, to deuie their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of famous memorie, the Father of that progenie, and founder of their State; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their government, being first laid and established by so powerfull a meane. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being to strong and fruit-

Q 2.

full

full, that it yielded of it selt such a people, as they were: and so wee read how the Athenians, forasmuch as they were ignorant fro whence they came, were an Oaken lease, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And heereupon also grew the controversie betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquitie: wherein the Egyptians seemed to have great aduantage, because of the fertilitie and heat of their country; whereas the Scythians inhabited a cold climate, vsfruitfull, and an enemy to generation. Of this sort were the Britaines, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Iland: who, not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, satisfied themselves with that common received opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The sea-coast was possesed by such as came out of the Continent, and retained the names of the Cities from whence they came, as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For, concerning the difference of longitude between the Easterne angle of Kent, & the furthest point of Cornwall, they make it eight degrees; which in a manner iumpeth with Cæsars dimensionation: the other sides are somewhat longer: and therefore Tacitus, in the life of Aricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that side which bordereth vpon France to resemble the edge, and the other two sides to incline by little and little, one towards another; and so make the Iland narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers; who by the quantitie of the circuit, did vsually iudge of the content: not considering that the Area of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantitie of the angle, as the length of the side.

Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the cold Winters in France, we must vnderstand that Britanie hath euer been found of a more temperate constitution, in regard of sharp and cold winters, then any other countrie lying vnder the same parallell: whether the cause thereof may be imputed to the continuall motion of the sea about the Iland, which begetteth heate, as some haue imagined; or to the site therof, in regard of other Continents from whence the wind alwaies riseth, and carrieth with it the nature of the Country by which it passeth: and so the Iland hauing no other Continent lying North to it, from whence the wind may rise, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such cold winds to temper it, as other parts of Germanie, which are vnder the same parallell: but the Southerne wind, which is so frequent in Britanie, tempereth the ayre with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnkowne cause, our Philosophers rest vn-satisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may be said, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South then this Iland doth, the ayre therof (by reason of the continuall heat) is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this grosser ayre of Britanie, and carrieth the cold further into the pores; and so seemeth sharper, and of a farre colder disposition.

This Iland, which Cæsar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of *Man*,

Man, and lieth between Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemy calleth it *Meneda*. Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of *Mona*, peraduenture from the nomination of the Britaines, who called it *Tyr mon*, the land of Mon.

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midst of winter for 30 daies together, they must be sited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the Continent, we must vnderstand it to be onely in summer: for, the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it cometh to a right horizon, the neerer it cometh to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in summer time, the nights in France, are longer then heere in England; and in winter, shorter. The like we must vnderstand of all Southerne and Northerne Countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuilitie of the Kentish men, and their courteous disposition, about the rest of the Britains, which must be imputed to that ordinary course which brought ciuility vnto all other Nations: of whom such as were first seated in their possessions, and entertained societie, were the first that brought in ciuill conuersation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of ciuill government. So we find, that first Assyrians and Babilonians (as nearest to the Mountaines of Armenia where the Ark rested, and people first inhabited) reduced their States into Common-weales of Monarchies of exquisite government, flourishing with all manner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other Countries lay either waste, or overwhelmed with Barbarisme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentishmen first entertained it, as bordering vpon France; and frequented with Marchants of those Countries.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmishes between the Romans and the Britaines.



HE Cavalrie of the enemy and their chariots, gave a sharpe consist to the Romaine horsemen, in their march: but so, that the Romaines got the better euery way, driving them with great slaughter to the woods and hills, and loosing also some of their owne men, being too venturous in the pursuit. The Britaines, after some intermission of time, when the Romaines little thought of them, and were busied in fortifying their Campe, came suddainly out of the woods, and charged vpon those that kept station before the Campe. Cæsar sent out two the chiefeest cohorts of two legions, to second their fellows. These two cohorts, standing vwith a small alley betweene them, the other that were first charged, being terrified

Cæsar.

vith that strange kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickess of the enemy, and so retired in safetie to their fellows. That day, Quintus Laberius Durus, a Tribune of the souldiers, was slaine. The Britaines were repelled with moe cohorts, which Cæsar sent to second the former. And, so far as the fight happened in the view of all the Campe, it was plainly perceived, that the legionarie souldiers, being neither able for the weight of their Armour, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to goe farre from his Ensigne: was not a fitt advantage to contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, in as much as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and encounter them, with that advantage which is betwene a footman and a horseman. Further more, they neuer fought thicke and close together, but thin, and in great distances, having stations of men to succour one another, to receive the wearie, and to send out fresh supplies.

OBSERVATION.

UPON this occasion of their heaue Armour, I will describe a legionarie souldier in his compicat furniture, that we may better iudge of their manner of warfare, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And heere we are to learne, that their legionarie souldiers were called *Miles gravis armatura*, souldiers wearing heauy Armour, to distinguish them from the *Velites*, the Archers, Slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensive Armes were a couple of Pikes, or as some will, but one Pike, and a Spanissh sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensiu Armes were, a helmer, a corset, and boots of brasle, with a large Target; which in some sort was offensive, in regard of that *umbræ* which stuck out in the middt thereof. The Pike is described at large in the first booke, and the Target in the second. The sword, as Polybius witnesseth, was short, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point: and therefore Liuius, in his 22 booke, saith, that The Gallies vsed very long twords without points, but the Romaines had short swords, readier for vse: these they called Spanissh swords, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniard. The old Romaines were to girt with their swords, as appeareth by Polybius, & their monuments in Marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of these times; which, as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they carried on their left arme: this sword, was hung with a belt of leather, beset with studs, as Varro saith, and these were their offensive weapons.

Their Helmer was of brasle, adorned with three Ostrich feathers, of a cubite in length, by which, the souldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the Enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixth booke. Their breast plate was either of brasle or Iron, ioyned together after the manner of scales, or planted with little rings of Iron: their bootes were made of banes of brasle, from the

foote

Lib. 4.

Plin. lib. 10.

toote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionary souldiers armed, to stand firme, rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselves into a body of that strength, which might not easily recoil, at the opposition of any confrontation: for, agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreat or a pursuit: and nimble-footed souldiers, are as ready to flie back, as to march forward; but a waightie bodie, keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: so that whensoever they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practice, and exercise in continuall works, that they neuer faimed vnder any such taske, but the victorie went alwaies cleere on their side. But, if the enemy gaue way to their violence, and came not in but for advantage, and then as speedily retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged, then did their nimbleness much help their weaknesse, and frustrate the greater part of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued, in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Corta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckling at hand, blowes, commanded his men to fight afar off; and if they were assaulted, to giue backe, and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines that they all fell vnder the execution of the Gallies. Let this suffice therefore to shew, how vnapt the Romaines were to flie vpon any occasion, when their Armour was such, that it kept them from all starting motions, and made them futable to the staied and well assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore, not so fit either for a pursuit, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betwene a horseman and a footman, it may be thought strange, that a footman should haue such an advantage against a horseman, being ouermatched, at least with a Sexuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but we must vnderstand, that as the horse is much swifter in a long carriere; so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combat consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the horseman in advantage; hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, & his fortune in the good speed of his horse, his wounds and his death, do consequently pull the rider after, his feare or turie maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soeuer ariseth from the horse, must be answered out of the honour of the rider. And finally, it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soeuer draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power.

The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affordeth greater assurance then the Harquebule, wherein there are many parts belonging to the action, as the powder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof, if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but, how probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Romaine warres, the horse were euer defeated by the foote, as is manifestly proued in the first of these bookes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.
Cæsar giueth the Britaines two
seuerall overthrowes.

Cæsar.

HE next day, the Enemy made a stand vpon the hills afar off from the Campe, and shewed themselves not so often; neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, whē Cæsar sent out three legions, and all his Cavalrie to get forrage, vnder the conduct of Caius Trebonius a Legate, they made a suddaine assault vpon the forragers; and fell in close vwith the Ensignes and the legions. The Romaines charged very fiercely vpon them, & beate them backe: neither did they make an end of following them, untill the horsemen trusting to the succour of the legions which were behind them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to forsake their chariots.

After this overthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romaines with any great power. Cæsar, vnderstanding their determination, caried his Armie to the river Thames, and so to the confines of Cassiuellannus, which river was passable by foote but in one place onely, and that very hardly. At his coming, he found a great power of the Enemy to be imballailed on the other side, and the banke fortified vwith many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted covertly vnder the water. These things being discovered to the Romaines by the Captiues and fugitiues, Cæsar, putting his horse before, caused the legions to follow suddainelie after: who notwithstanding they had but their heads cleere above the water, went with that violence, that the enemy was not able to endure the charge, but left the banke, and betooke themselves to flight.

OBSERVATION.

THIS attempt of Cæsar, seemeth so strange to Brancatio, that he runneth into strange conclusions, concerning this matter: as first, that he that imiteth Cæsar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for, his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great Commander, hath nothing common with other Leaders: but especially, he crieth out at the basenesse of the Britains, that would suffer themselves so cowardly to be beaten. But if we looke into the circumstances of the action, we shall find both Art and good direction therein: for, being assured by the fugitiues, that the river was passable in that place, and in that place onelie; he knew that he must either aduenture ouer there, or leaue Cassiuellannus for another Summer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to that

that enterprise. The difficultie whereof, was much relieved by good direction, which consisted of two points: First, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemy, then the footmen could, that were vp to the neck in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the Enemy.

Secondly, he sent them ouer with such speed, that they were on the other side of the water before the enemy could tell what they attempted: for, if hee had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer beene able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place where this seruice was performed; for, since the building of London bridge, manie footes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time, caried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the Britiſh warre: Cæsar
returneth into Gallia.



Cassiellaunus, hauing no courage to contend any longer, dismissed his greatest forces; and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, obserued their iourneys, keeping the wood Countries, and driving men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans: & as their horse straid out either for forrage or bootie, he sent his chariots out of the woods by vnknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer aduenture further then the legions, neither was there any more spoile done in the Country, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselves.

In the meane time, the Trinobantes, being almost the greatest State of all those Countries (from whom Mandubratius had fledde to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiellaunus) sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiellaunus; and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar, hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, & Corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, being thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Anasates, Bibrocasi, yielded themselves to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne, a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retreat, when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Armie, and found it well fortified, both by Arte and Nature: and as hee assaulted it in

Cæsar.

two severall places, the enemy unable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe way: and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of castell, and slew many of the Brittaines.

While these things were a-doing, Cassiuellannus sent messengers into Kent, wherein there were foure severall Kings, Cingetorix, Caruilins, Taximagulus, & Segonax: them he commanded with all the power they could make, to sette upon the Campe where the Nautie was kept. The Kings comming to the place, were o-uerthrowne by a sally which the Romaines made out upon them, many of them beeing slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moved thereunto with the reuolt of the forenamed Citties, Cassiuellannus intreated peace of Cæsar, by Comius of Arras. Cæsar, being determined to winter in the Continent, for feare of suddaine commotions in Gallia, and that the Summer was now farre spent, and might easilie bee lingered out, he commaunded pledges to be brought unto him, and set down what yeerely tribute the Brittaines should pay to the Romans. The hostages beeing taken, hee carried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarked his men, and arrived safe with all his shippes vpon the coast of Gallia.

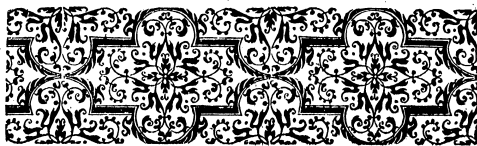
OBSERVATION.



And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scambling warre, as well in regard of the Brittaines themselves; who after they had felt the strength of the Romane legions, would neuer adventure to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britanie, as are recorded to haue beene in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the war, if there had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken in by Cæsar.

And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, being desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we find here, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skits, or the hart of Britanie (for, our Historians doe vnderstand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire & Lancashire) were brought vnder the Romaine Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that euer laid tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heauie name of a subdued people.

T O



TO THE WORTHY KNIGHT,

SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

(*.*)



IR, my purpose was to haue concluded these discourses, with the end of the Brittainish warre; reseruing the later part of this fift booke, for an entrance vnto such obseruations, as may be gathered from the fixt & seauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a second part of this worke: but your desire to see the errors of Sabinus and Cotta discovered, and the famous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering Campe, hath brought them forth somewhat before their time, annexing that to the first part, which was meant for the later. If my labour shall be found too weake to deserue well of Militarie designs; yet I thinke it very well imploy'd, in that it pleaseth you to giue it the reading, and so rest

Readie to doe you service,

C. EDMVND.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their
wintering Campes.

Cæsar.
Either Cibray, Amiens
or S. Quintin.



After he had put his ships in harbour, & held a Councell of the Gallies at Samarobrina; forasmuch as that yere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to guarizon his Armie, and to disperse them into more Citties then hee had done the yeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be ledde among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to be caried to the Nervij: another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commaunded to winter amongst the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuiri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom he sent Marcus Crafus, his Quæstor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius, Legates; he sent one legion, that which hee had last inrolled, beyond the river Po in Italie, with five cohorts, vnto the Eburones: the greatest part of whose Country, lieth between the Mæse & the Eburones; with them he sent Q. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne, and yet the guarizons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius caried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Who haue heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdom, was more burthen some to the common-wealth, in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular cities and families, before the time of the muster and inolement: for (say they) in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 50000 men be maintained with necessarie provisions in one intire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout eury part of the Country: forasmuch as euerie man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which he cannot want in what sort or condition of life soeuer he be raged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnted together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude where soeuer. But such as looke into the difference with iudgement, shall finde a marvellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is provided: for, first, we must vnder-

stand,

stand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fate and the flesh (as they say) & leaue nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of provisions, woulde in a small time come to vtter destruction. This want then must be relieved by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to supply the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be observed that proportion of moderate taking, to vitallie the Armie with a sufficient competencie, but the partiall respect which the purueiers, and vittalliers will haue to their priuat commoditie, will quickly make an inconuenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is provided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline soeuer be established in that behalfe: Whereas on the contrary part, when euerie particular man of that multitude shall be billeted in a seuerall family, throughout all parts of the kingdom, the charge will be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the laid families, that the countrie will neuer feele any inconuenience. And if euerie houtholder that had receiued into his house one of the said Army, should giue a true account of that which riseth about his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall far short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnted together into one bodie.

Neither doth the difference consist in the quantity of vittalles, which euerie man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnted; but in the manner of provision, and the means which is vled to maintaine them: wherein euerie master or steward of a family, endeoureth to make his provision in the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competencie, and not for superfluitie; and by that means, the generall plenty of the country is maintained, & the common-wealth flourisheth by well directed moderation. But in the vntuall of an Army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the purueier riseth by expence and superfluous wastling, rather then by thrift and sauing frugality: and so the common-wealth is weakened by the ill husbanding of that great portion of vittalles, which is allowed for so great a multitude. And if they should haue such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in seuerall families, it were vnpossible it should continue any tyme together. And therefore the Romanes, notwithstanding the exactness of their discipline, could afford their Armes no other provision but corne, and larde, as well in regard of the commoditie which that kinde of diet afforded them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that country, wherein they were resident. And if it so fell out, that the extremity of the season, or any other cause, had brought a dearth into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconuenience, then by dispersing their Armes into diuers quarters; which Cæsar disposed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

C Concerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrollement, I had rather referre the Reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their minds of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but forasmuch as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrollement should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it consequently followeth, that such Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the old Romanes did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time, But he that desireth to see the maner of their choise, with such complements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the work, let him read Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the Campe of
Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth
to take them by guile.

Cæsar.

Fifteene daies after the legions were settled in their wintering Camps, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catuualcius, who hauing receiued Sabinus and Cotta into their confines, & brought them in corne to the place, where they lay at the inducement of induciarius of Trier, they stir'd up their people to rebellion: & suddenly surprising those that were gon abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the Camp. But when our men had tooke arms, and were got up vpon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sally out of the Camp vpon the Gallies, Ambiorix despairing of good success, withdrew his men from the assault; & then after their maner, they cried vnto us, that some of our company should come & speak with thē: for, they had somewhat to discover touching the publike state, whereby they hoped all controuersies might be ended. Whereupon Caius Carpinicius a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friends, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who

diuers

diuers times before had beene sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Cæsar; for, manie curtesies, in that by his meanes he was freed from a pension which he paid to the Aduatici; and for that both his own son, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had helde in prison vnder the name of hostages, were by Cæsar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the Camp, he had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the State, among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authority ouer him, as he himselfe had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Gallies, whereof his small meanes might bee a sufficient argument. For, his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so small a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a general appointment throughout all Gallia, vpon this day to assault all Cæsars garrizons; to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Gallies could not easilie denie the request of Gallies, specially when it concerned their publicke libertie. Now hauing satisfied that duectiue which he owed to his country, hee had respect to Cæsar and his benefites, in regard whereof he admonished them, and praised Titurius for the hospitality that had been betweene them, that hee would looke to the safetie of himselfe, and his soldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadye passed the Rhene, and would be heere within 2. dayes: and therefore let them aduise themselves, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceined it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Citero or Labienus, of whom the one was not past fifty mile off; and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should haue safe passage through his territories; for, so hee should both doe a pleasure to his country, in disburdening it of garrizons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Cæsar for his benefits. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpinicius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

OBSERVATION.

Ender his counsell, to vse the foxes skinn where the Lions lieth, doth shewe, that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with error, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For, oftentimes the mind is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take sound instructions, nor the iudgement determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are wee carried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of error, or mistrust of well-succeeding; where as the body continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it may bee subdued and ouerthrowen. It behoueth vs therefore to take good heede, that our surest holde bee not vnfastned by the subtiltie of the Foxe, when it

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hath

hath continued firme against the force of the lion : and that the treacherie of the spirit doe not disaduantage those meanes, which either our owne power or opportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a Commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion do not hinder the course of sound deliberation : and wishall, to beeiealous of whatsoeuer an Enemie shall, eyther by speech or action, seeme to thrust vpon him, how colourable soeuer the reasons may be, which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties, to resist the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions, it may easily be seduced (eyther by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or over-easie credulitie, with manie other such disturbing powers) from that waie, which a good discretion, and an vnderstanding free from passion, would haue taken.

First therefore I holde it necessarie, to haue the consistorie of our iudgement well settled, with a firme resolution, and with the presence of the mind, before we enter into deliberation of such things, as are made happy vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other circumstances, will giue some help to a good conclusion; when we consider how improbable it is, that an Enemie, whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersarie, and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that may concern his good; vntil the profit, which he him selfe shall thereby gather, do farre exceed that which the contrarie part may expect.

I grant that in Ciuill wars, where there are many friends on either partie, &c haue the aduersarie cause as deare vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes manie aduertisements giuen, which proceed from a true and sincere affection, & may aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as wel in preventing any danger, as in the furtherance of their cause; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be weighed by circumstances, & accordingly to be accepted; whereof we haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill waies of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Nou* his discourses : but where there are two Armies, different in nation, language and humour, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keep that which is dearest vnto them, possesseth the one, and hope of gaine stirreth vp the other; there is commonly such an vnusuall hatred between them, that they are to looke for

small aduantage by aduertisements from the Enemie: which if the Romans had well considered, this subtle Gall had not disposed them of their strength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertisement, and resolve to depart, and ioine themselves to some other of the Legions.



He Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those things were spoke by an Enemy, yet they thought there no way to be neglected; but especially it moued them for that it was incredible that the Eburones, being base and of no reputation, durst of themselves make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell, wherein there grew a great controuersie among them: L. Arunculeius & most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashly, nor to depart out of their wintering Camps, without expresse commandment from Cæsar; forasmuch as they were able to resist neuer so great a power yea euen of the Germans, hauing their garisons well fortified: an argument wherof was, that they had valiantly withstood the first assault of the Enemy, & giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they any vittuals: & before that prouision which they had was spent, there would come succor from other guarizons & from Cæsar. And to conclude, what was more dishonorable or fauoured of greater inconstancie, then to consult of their weightiest affairs, by the aduertisement of an Enemy? Titurius urged vehemently to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to seeke a remedie, when a greater power of the Enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were assembled against them; or when anie blowe were giuen to any of the next wintering Campes: he took Cæsar so be gone into Italy; for, otherwise the Eburones, would not haue come so proudly to the Campe. Let them not respect the aughtour, but the thing it selfe; the Rhene was not farre off, and hee knewe well that the overthrow of Ariouistus, and their former victories, were greuous to the Germans. The Gallies were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in subiection to the Roman Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deeds of Arms. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certainty thereof? but howsoeuer things stood, his counsell was sure, and could bring no harm: for, if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safelie to the next guarizons; or otherwise, if the Gallies conspired with the Germans, their onely safelie counsell, in celeritie. As for the counsell of Cotta, and such as were of the contrary opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not present dangers, yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The disputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it: Doe as please you, since you will needes haue it so, sayth Sabinus, and that he spake with a loud voice, that a great part of the souldiers might well heare him: for, I am not hee that most feareth death among you; let

let these be wise; and if any mischance happen unto them, they shall aske account thereof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldst let them, they might ioin the selves within 2. dayes to the next guarizons, & with them sustain what chance soeuer their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellows. After these words, they began to rise out of the Councels; but holde was laide upon them both; entreaty was made that they would not obstinately bring all unto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staid, so that they all agreed upon one thing, whereat in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolonged untill midnight; at length Cotta yielded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they should set forth by the break of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching: every souldier sought out what he had to carry with him, and what he should be constrained to leave behind him of such necessities, as he had prepared for winter: all things were disposed in such sort, to make the souldiers believe, that they could not stay without danger.

OBSERVATION.

BY the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wise deliberation availeth, when it is impugned with the violence of passion, according to the truth of my former observation; for, the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions were grounded upon things certaine, and well known to the whole Councell: and yet the feare of Sabinus was such, that it carried the conclusion by such supposed assertions as the qualitie of his passion had raised for true principles; being grounded altogether upon that which the Enemy had suggested, and not upon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often seene, when a Councell dispueth upon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from such troublesome motions, but that it will somewhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the government of the soule, and so interested in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a councell of warre should so much varie in case of deliberation, when-as manie especiall points of militarie discipline remaine yet vndeclared; hauing the authoritie of the great Commanders of all ages, to ratifie the truth on either part; whereof I could alledge many examples. But concerning the issue and euent of our deliberations, what can be more truly said then that of the Poet?

*Er male consultis pretium est prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas, sequitur que merentes;
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine feror:
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogat que regat que
Misi, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

Not-

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wisdom is not so subiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it self, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our businesse; or if we must needs miscarry, yet it somewhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went upon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set downe some rules for the better directing of a mature consultation. Wherein we are to understand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehend only particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or disagree in their seuerall properties: from whence there arise intellectuall notions, and rules of Arts wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so he that intendeth to debate a matter, with sound deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions & a knowledge in general, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiaall substance of euery action: he therefore that can giue best direction, either by experience, or iudicious discourse, concerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best aduise which is the safest way to avoid the opposition of contradicting natures. But to make this somewhat plainer, I will alledge 2. examples: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may seeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apologie: yet forasmuch as it freely censureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may giue great light to that which we seek after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the State of Ferrara & the Duchie of Millan: wherein there arose a controuersie among the French Capitaines, whether it were better to go directly to seek the Enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong & secure place, yet there was hope, that with the vertue of Armes and importunity of artillerie, they might be dislodged, and driuen to a retreat: or otherwise, to take the waie either of Modena or Bologna, that so the Enemy for feare of losing either of those townes, might quit their holde; and by that means Ferrara should be freed from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduise: But Triumle, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing bene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (saith he) to go seek the Enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great Capitaines holde this as a firme principle; Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnlesse there be either an offer of an especiall aduantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessity. The rules of warre giue it to the Enemy that is the invader, and hath vndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, To seek to assaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is sufficient to defende our selves, it cannot bee but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibilitie to execute that deuise, but to our harmes & disadvantage: for, we cannot go to their Camp but by the side of a hill, a straight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot bee employed; and yet they with

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small numbers will make resistance, having the opportunitee of the place favourable to their virtues: we must march by the rising of a hill, one horse after another; neither have we any other way to draw our Artillery, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the streight of the hill: and who doubteth not but in a way so narrow and combrous, every artillery, every cart, or every wheel that shall break, will not stay the Army a whole houre at the least? By which impediments every contrary accident may put vs to disorder. The Enemy is lodged in covert, provided of victuals and forrage; and we must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which should serve for our necessarie nouriture; but expect the things to come after, which in reason ought to goe with vs. To attempt new enterprises, whereof the victory is lesse certaine then the perill, is contrary to the gravity and reputation of a Leader; and in actions of the war, those enterprises are put to adventure, that are done by will & not by reason. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our abode there, two or three dayes; yea, the snowes & rains joined with the extremity of the season, may suffice to detain vs: how shall we then do for victuals & forrages? What shall we be able to do in the wars, wanting the things that should give vs strength & sustenance? what is he that considereth not, how dangerous it is to go seek the Enemy in a strong Campe, & to be driven at one time to fight against them & against the discommodity of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their Campe, we cannot but be enforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a country so wholly against vs, and where every little disfaour will turn to our great disadvantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that grave discourse, in the discoverie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterprise; which being laid open to their confused iudgements, did manifestly point at the great disadvantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

Annal. 6.

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the arraignment of certaine Senators, for the friendship that had past between Seianus and them. Amongst whom M. Terentius thus answered for himselfe; according as it hath of late been published by translation:

It would bee peradventure lesse behoovefull for my estate to acknowledge, then to deny the crime I am charged with: but hap what happe may, I will confesse that I have been Seianus friend, and that I desired so to be, and that after I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seen him joint officer with my father, in the government of the pretorian cohort: and not long after, in managing the Citie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinsmen and allies were advanced to honour: as every man was inward with Seianus, so he was graced by Cæsar: and contrariwise, such as were not in his favour, lived in feare, and distressed with povertrie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuite to his last attempts, with the danger of my only estate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulsinensis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian family, which by alliance he had entred into; thy sonne in law Cæsar, thy companion in the Consulship, and him who took vpon him thy charge of administering the Common-wealth, we did reuerence
and

SABINVS AND COTTA



and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt above the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke into those things which wee see before our eyes, whom thou doest enrich, whom thou doest aduance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping: which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about anie secret drift it is not lawfull to sound, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely, Lords of the Senate, of Seianus last daie; but of fixteene yeares, in which we did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be known vnto his freed men and partners, was reckned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence be generall, and not distinguished, but a confusion made of times past, and his later actions? No: but let it by iust boundes and tearms be diuided: let the treasons against the Common-wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, duties, pleasures and good turnes, the same end shall discharge and quit thee, O Caesar, and vs.

The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see how particularities decide the controuerisie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes
the next legion; and are set vpon by
the GALLES.



As soone as the day light appeared, they set fourth of their Camp (like men perwaded that the counsell had been giuen them not by an Enemy, but by Ambiorix an especiall friend) with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Gales vnderstanding of their iourney, by their noisc and watching in the night; secretly in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two severall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romans; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entred into a valley, sodainely they shewed themselves on both sides the vale, pressing hard vpon the reuerward, and hindering the formost from going vp the hill; and so began to charge vpon the Romans in a place of as great disadvantage for them as could bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had provided for nothing before hand, began to tremble, ranne vp and downe, and disjosed his cohorts, but so feareful.

Cesar.

fearfully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to such, as are forced to consult in the instant of execution.

OBSERVATION.

IT now plainly appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for encounter which the Galles gaue them, that feare had ratified in the iudgement of Sabinus the smooth suggestion of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth, and layed that for a principle, which a discourse free from passion would haue discerned to be but weake, and of no probability: which so much the more amazed Titurius, by how much his apprehension had erred from the truth, and betrayed good counsell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needs fall vpon such, as are then to seeke for direction when the businesse requirerth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of disappointment: and therefore at this time will but bring it only into remembrance, that we may take the greater care to prevent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the saying, *Præuisa pereunt mala*; so the greatest mischiefe in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and besides our expectation; for, then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturall waight, and affrighteth the mind with a superstitious astonishment, as though the diuine powers had prevented our designements, with an irre-mediabie calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carrie no such importance, but might be remedied, if we were but prepared with an opinion, that such a thing might happen.

It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution soeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to crosse our intentions, as that which is likely to happen from the direction of our chiefeest proiects; and so we shall be sure to haue a present minde in the midst of our occasions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforseth.

CHAP.

CAP. XII.

The Romans cast themselues into an Orbe; and are much discouraged.



BY this Orbe, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waile, and for that cause would not bee the author of the iourney, was not wanting in any thing that concerned their common safetie: for, both in calling vpon the souldiers and encouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commander; and in fighting, the dutie of a souldier. And when they found, that by reason of the length of their troupe, they were not able in their owne persons to see all things done, and to giue direction in euery place, they caused it to be proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselues into an Orbe: which direction, although in such a case be not to be reprobred; yet it fell out ill fauorably: for, it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the Enemy greater encouragement, inasmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but vpon a great feare and in extremity of perill. Moreover, it hapned, as it could not otherwise choofe, that the souldiers went from their Ensignes, to take from the cariages such things as were most deare vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongst them, but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne how to carrie themselves: for, their Commanders caused it to be proclaimed, that no man should stir out of his place, for the price was theirs, and all that the Romans had laide aparte, was reserved for them: and therefore let them suppose that all things consisted in the victory. The Romans were equal to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhood all the hope of their safety: and as often as any cohort issued out, they failed not to make a great slaughter of the Enemy on that part.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HAve already handled the nature of an Orbe, with such properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conuenience of this figure, in regarde of safe and strong imbatailing: I will now adde thus much concerning the vie thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbatailing for a defensive strength, and therefore neuer vled but in extremity; so we must be very careful, that the sodaine betaking of ourselues to such a refuge, doe not more dismaie the souldiers, then the advantage of that imbatailing canne benefit them.

them. For, vnlesse a Leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despair and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or body focuser, when the particular members shall bee senselesse of that duty, which belongeth vnto them: For, order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing means to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Africke we reade, that Cæsars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orb; but he quickly turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Corners two contrary waies; and so diuided the Enemy into two parts; and then beate them backe, to their great disaduantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Lib. 20.

Neede not stand vpon this order which the Galles heere took, concerning pillage, that no souldier should forsake his station, or disbank himself in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancy of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and solde the honour of a publike victory, for priuate lucre and petty pilfering. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, suffice to warne a well directed Armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the losse which the Italians felt by that disorder, not to seek after pillage vntill the victory be obtained.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe insufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the onely want, which these Romans had to cleere themselves of this danger; bringeth to our consideration that which former times haue made a questiō: which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman Leaders, or the valour of their souldiers, that enlarged their Empire to that greauesse, and made their people and Senate, Lords of the world? Politicus weighing the causes of a victory, which the Carthaginians gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time receiued diuers overthrowes, during the time of those warres in Africke; concluded, that it was more in the wortinessse of the Commanders, then in any extraordinary vertue of the souldiers, that the Romans achieued so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hannibal; who from the beginning of the second Punicke warre, stil gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and breighting the iurisdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a Leader marchable to that subtle Carthaginian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that famous

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally balanced, both in number and qualitie of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had been in a Ciuill warre. Neither could Fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestow her fauour, or where to shew her disdain; but that the wortinessse of the Roman Leaders, brought the odds in the trial, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of the Armie, to haue a Leader worthy of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequality betweene two equall Armies, then the wisdom and experience of a graue Commander, or the disability of an vnskillfull Leader; which are so powerfull in their feuerall effects, that there is greater hope of a heard of Harts ledde by a Lion, then of so many Lions conducted by a Hare.

CHAP. XIII.

*Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might
best fight with aduantage, and frustrate
the weapons of the Romaine
souldiers.*



HE which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons afar off, and keepe themselves from comming neere at hand, and where the Romans charged them, to giue way: & againe, as they saw them retire to their Ensignes, then to pursue them. Which commandement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort sallied out of the Orbe to giue an assault, the Enemy gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no helpe, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons: and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumvented, as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by such as stood next about them. And if they went about to keepe their ground, they could neither helpe themselves by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude call vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences, besides the wounds which they had receiued, they stood still at their defence, & hauing so spent the greatest part of the day (for they had fought eight houres together) they committed nothing dishonourable, or vnwoorthie of themselves.

Cæsar.

S.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Hauc spoken alreadye of the manner of the Roman fight, consisting altogether in good disposition of imbattailing, and in firme standing, and buckling at handy-blows: as may appeare by this circumstance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe & follow on againe, as the lightnesse of their Armes gaue them opportunitie. In like manner, in the first booke of the Ciuill wars, in the battell betweene Cæsar and Afranius, it appeareth, that Cæsar his souldiers were bound to keepe their array, not to leaue their Ensignes, nor without a waig-tie occasion to forsake their stations appointed them: whereas the Afranians fought thin, and scattered heere and there; and if they were hard laid vnto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous Nations.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowne.

Cesar.

Then T. Baluentius, who the yeere before had beene Primpile of that region, a valiant man, and of great authoritie, had both his shighes darted through with a Iavelin; and Q. Lucanius, of the same order, valiantly fighting to succour his sonne, was slaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as hee busily encouraged all the Cohorts & Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a sling. Titurius moued with these things, as he beheld Ambiorix as farre off discouraging his men, sent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would spare him and his souldiers. Ambiorix answered, that if he were desirous to treat, hee might: for, hee hoped to obtaine so much of the people, to save the souldiers; but for himselfe, he should haue no harme at all: for the assurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, who absolutely denied to goe to an armed enemy, and continued resolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded such Tribunes & Centurions that were present, to follow him; and when hee came neere to Ambiorix, being commanded to cast away his Armes, he obeyed, and willed those that were with him, to doe the same. In the meane time, while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a solemne protestation of purpose, Titurius was by little & little compassed about and slaine. Then, according to their custome, they cried victory; and taking up a howling, charged the Romanes with a fresh assault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly, was slaine, with the most part of the souldiers with him. The remnant retired into their Campe, amongst whom L. Petrosidius the Eagle-bearer, when hee sawe himselfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the Rampier, and fighting with

with a great courage, before the Campe, was slaine. Therest, with much adoe endured the assault vntill night, and in the night, being in despaire of all succour, slew themselves euery man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by unknowne waies through the woods, to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATION.

And thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that ever fell at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that he was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the end of his Dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he lost not aboute 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia, not so many: but heere, fiftene cohorts were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hateful, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men.

The resolution of such as returned to the Campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant Leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had been absolute Commainder, there had beene great hope of better fortune in the successe. But heere it happened as it commonlie doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authorities, the direction, for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which being a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a cōsent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the Councell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the Leaders; for, his timorousnesse stieeth alwaies to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, & base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of milchieuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero, and stirreth vp the Aduatici, the Neruij, and so raiseith a great power.



Ambiorix tooke such spirits vnto him vpon this victory, that with his horsemen he went immediately vnto the Aduatici, being the next borderers vpon his kingdom, without intermission of night, commanding his footmen to follow him. The Aduatici being stirred up to commotion, the next day after hee came to

the Nernij, exhorting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselves perpetuall libertie, and reuenging them of the Romaines for the wrong they had received. He told them that two Legates were already slaine, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprize the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, hee offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easily perswaded the Nernij, and therefore they dispatched speedy messengers to the Centrones, Grudij, & other people vnder their dominion, and raised very great forces; and with them they hastied to the Campe where Cicero wintered, before any inking of the death of Titurins was brought vnto him.

OBSERVATION.

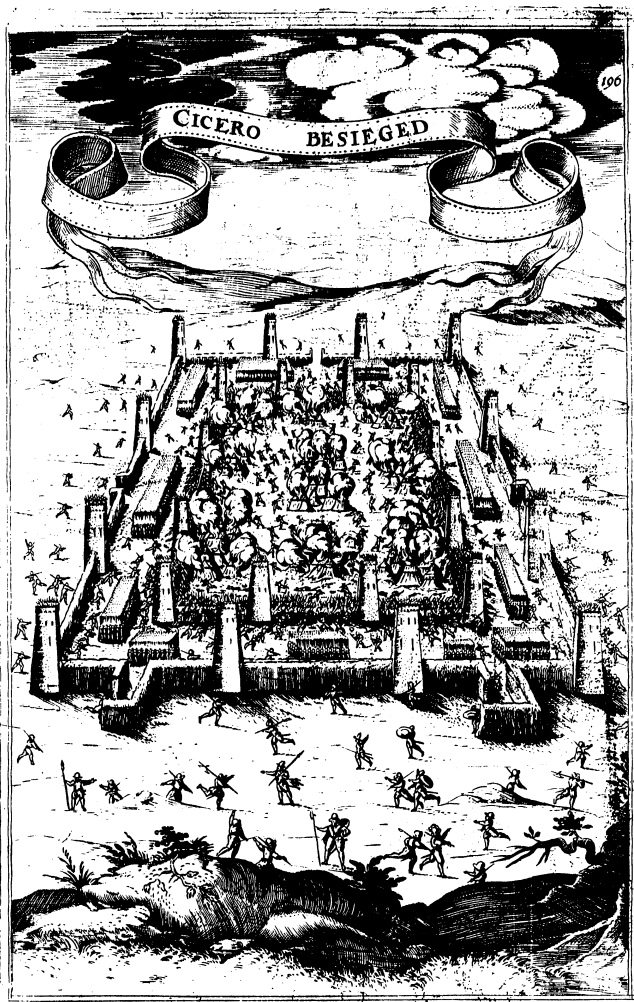
THe ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the baseness of a small and ignoble State, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst adventure vpon the Romaine legions, being seated in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so many victories in Gallia; wanted now no means to make an ouerture to a vniuersall commotion, propounding libertie & reuenge to the Gallies (two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people) if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued sure and easie. Which may serue to shew, that hee that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnstable Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient means for his greatest designs.

CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his Campe from the surprize
of the Nernij, and preparath himselfe
against a Siege.

IT happened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that many of the souldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the Enemies horsemen. These being circumvented, the Eburones, Nernij, and Aduatier, with all their confederates and clients, began to assault the Campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their weapons, and got vpon the rampier, with much ado they held out that day: for the Gallies trusted much vpon celeritie, hoping if they sped well in that action, to be victors euer after.

Cicero



Cicero dispatched Letters with all speede to Caesar, promising great rewards to him that should carie them: but all the waies were so fore-laid, that the Messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the Campe one hundred and twenty towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification; and whatsoeuer wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected.

The enemy the next day, with a farre greater power assaulted the Campe, and filled up the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the day before; the like was continued diners daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their work at any part of the night, nor gaue any rest either to the sick or the wounded. Whatsoeuer was needfull for the next daies assault, was provided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and many murrall piles were made: the towers were floored in their stories; Pinnacles and Parapets were set up of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe beeing sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time: so that the souldiers of their owne accord, compelled him by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

OBSERVATION.

THis Q. Cicero, is said to be the brother of Marcus Cicero, the famous Oratour, & to him were the Letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quinto fratri*. In this action, his carriage deserued as great reputation, in the true censure of honour, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Roscio*. And if it had bene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had attieued by Armes. VVherein particularlie may be commended, the diligence and induttry which was vsed, in raising so many towers in so small a time; for providing the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so many stakes hardened in the end with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murrall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier, in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practiced arme, they were very effectuall and of great terrour.

CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero
which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus;
but are reiected.

Cæsar.

Hen the Princes and chiefe Commanders of the Neruij, which had any entrance of speech, and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speak with him: which being granted, they propounded the same things: they had used to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia were in Arms; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Cæsar and the rest were besieged in their wintering Campes; Sabinus & his men were cut in peeces; notwithstanding, they carried this mind to Cicero, that they refused nothing but their wintering among them; they might depart in safetie whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this answer: that It was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take any article or condition from an armed Enemy; but, if they would lay their Armes aside, let them use his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiate it with Cæsar; there was great hope, in regard of his iustice and equitie, that they should not returne unsatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

He first attempt, which Ambiorix made vpon the Camp of Sabinus and Cotta, was but short; but heere, what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the assailants, they continued longer, in hope to carrie it by assault: for, the first assault of a place, especially, when it cometh by way of surprize, is of greater hope to the assailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then such as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for, after the first brunt, the heat of the enemy is much abated, as wel through the nature of a hot desire, which is most violent in the beginning, & afterward groweth cold & remisse, as also with the harmes and perill which they meet with in the incounter; and on the contrarie side, the defendants hauing withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experience of their strength, stand firme against any charge whatsoeuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and
a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire on
their Tents.

Cæsar.



He Neruij disappointed of this hope, carried a ditch & a rampier round about the Camp; the rampier was 11 foote high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by being conuersant among them certaine yeeres before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no iron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driuen to cut up turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carie it away with their Mantles and Gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for, in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fiftene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great bookes and strong penthouses, or safeguards of boards and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth day of the siege, being a verie windie day, they cast hot bullets of clay out of slings, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Gallies, were shatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly sette on fire, which by the violence of the wind was carried ouer all the Campe. The enemy pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were already gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.

OBSERVATION.



His one example may serue, to shew the excellencie of the Roman discipline, and the wilddome of the first founders of that Art: for, they perceiving that the fortune of warres consisted chieflie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of contradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hindrances, with a constant perseruacion & a courage inuincible. For, the great attempting spirit of an ambitious Commander, that seeketh to ouertoppe the trophies of honor, with the memory of his exploits, will quickly perish by his own direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the means which lead

leade him to his desligments. For, where the waight is greater then the strength, the engine will sooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a discret Leader therefore loeuell his thoughts, that his resolution may not exceed the abilitie of his particular meanes: but first let him be well assured what his fouldiers can doe, before he resolue what he will doe: or otherwife, let him so inable them by discipline and instructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth may answere the height of his desires, and follow his aspiring mind, with a resolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and so making their abilitie the ground of his designes, he shall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this consideration, hath within these late yeeres, repaid our Commanders in many parts of Christendome, with losse and dishonour, when as they measure the humour of their poore needie and vndisciplined fouldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughts, & so laid such proiects of difficultie, as were verie vsurable in the particularitie of occurrences, to that which their fouldiers were fit to execute.

CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, *Pulpio*
and *Varenius*, with their fortunes in
the encounter.



Cesar.

HERE were in that legion two valiant men, *Titus Pulpio*, & *L. Varenius*, Centurions, comming on apace to the dignity of the first orders: these two were at continuall debate vobich of them should be preferred one before another, and euerie yeere contended for place of preferment, with much strife & emulation. *Pulpio*, at a time that the fortification was very sharply assaulted, called to *Varenius*, and asked him why he now stood doubifull? or what other place hee did looke for to make triall of his manhood? This is the day, saith he, that shall decide our controuersies. And when hee had spoken these words, he went out of the fortification; and where he saw the Enemy thickest, hee fiercely set vpon them: then could not *Varenius* hold himselfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reasonable distance. *Pulpio* cast his pile at the enemy, and strooke one of the multitude through, that came running out against him. Hee being slaine, all cast their weapons at him, giuing no respite or time of retrait. *Pulpio* had his target strooke through, and the dart stuck fast in his girdle. This chance turned aside his scabbard, and hindered his right hand from pulling out his sword; in which disadvantage the enemy pressed hard vpon him. *Varenius* came and rescued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking *Pulpio* to be slaine with the dart, turned to *Varenius*, who speedily tooke him to his sword, and came to handy-strokes: and hauing slaine one, he put the rest somewhat back. But as he followed over hastily vpon them, hee fell downe: him did *Pulpio* rescue,

becing

being circumented and in danger; and so both of them hauing saine manie of the enemy, retired to their Campe in safetie, to their great honour. Thus Fortune caried as well the contention, as the encounter of them both, that being Enemies, they neuertheless gaue helpe to saue each others life, in such sort, as it was not to be iudged which of them deserued greatest honour.

OBSERVATION.



Cæsar inserteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongst the deeds of Armes contained in these Commentaries: wherein we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrell, which was their cōtinuall strife for place of preferment, which they fought after, by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approouing their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a patterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with vertue. For these *Simulates*, which desire of honour had cast between them, brought forth emulation, which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for, the difference between these two qualities, is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary utter ruine, dishonor, or ill archievement: but emulation contendeth only by well deserring, to gaine the aduantage of another mans same, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinitie of their affections, and the sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may still continue to shew the greatnesse of his worth, by the opposition of inferior actions, which are as a lesser scantling of desert, to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vknownne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her help in the course of our affaires, or lue to be entertained by the crooked dispositions of our times: for, we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth presently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, & refteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophees deserviedly erected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages, whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effects of vertue, to their glory and our ignominie, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring-forth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made out worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse & negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but words of praise, our whole practise beeing consecrated to actions of reproach. The iniuries, murders, scandalous cariages of one towards another, which in these daies are so readilie offered

and

and so impatiently digested, will admit no satisfaction but private combats; which in the first Monarchies, was granted onely against strangers and forraigne enemies, as the onely objects of Armes and wrath, and capable of that iustice, which the private sword should execute: for, they well perceived, that these single battels, were as sparkles of ciuill discord, and intestine warres; although not so apparant in the generall view of their State, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good government. And if there were a true record of such, as haue been either slaine or wounded within these forre countries, either in this kingdom, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they would amount to a number capable of that fearefull stile, which is attributed to Ciuill warres.

Neither is there any law, how rigorous or hard foucer, that can giue reliefe to this disorder, but the restraint will draw on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good government. Rotaris, King of the Lumbards, forbade his subiects this manner of combat: but shortly after, he was constrained to recall the Edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although he promised the thing to be both inhumane and barbarous. The like Edict was published in France, by Philip the Faire; but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the instant request of his subiects, in regard of the murders and assassinations committed in that kingdom.

The onely remedie that I find to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphie in Piemont, inuented to preuent this euill: for, perceiuing how ordinarie quarrels and bloodshed were in his Campe, he assigned a place betweene two bridges, for the performance of the *Duellum*, with this charge; that hee that had the worst, should alwaies be slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water: the danger ioyned with dishonour (which by this Decree attended such as vnderooke private combat) made the souldiers witer in their cariage, and put an end to their sedition and ciuill discords. But that which is yet worst of all, is, that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euery trifle seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a private combat: a croffe looke calleth another mans honor in question; but the word *Lye*, is of as great consequence, as any flabbie or villanie whatsoeuer. Wherat we may well wonder how it happeneth, that wee feele our selues so much exasperated at the reproach of that vice, which wee so ordinarily commit: for, in the custome of these times, to cast vpon vs the *lye*, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to stand chiefele in the defence of that corruption vnto which we are most subiect.

I speake not this to qualifie the foulness of this vice: for, I hold a Lye to be a monster in nature; one that contemneth GOD, and feareth man, as an ancient Father saith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition, in disdaining to acknowledge that fault, which we so commonly commit. But I would faire learne, when honour first came to be measured with words: for, from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matter; and the libertie of inuectiues, which

great

great personages vied one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further prooffe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this
Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and putteth the Enemy to a great laughter.



As the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldiours were laid vpon vnto wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that were able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of whom, some were taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Neruij, called Vertico, of honest parentage: who in the beginning of the siege had fledde to Cicero, and carried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carrie Letters to Cæsar; which he tooke, & hauing tied them vpon in his Dart, travelled as a Gall amongst the Gallies, without any suspicion, & so came to Cæsar: Of whom he vnderstood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion were beset.

Cæsar, hauing received those Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer, in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie five miles off; commanding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come vnto him. Crassus set out and came along with the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatij, through which he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood with the conueniencie of the State, hee should bring the legion to the territories of the Neruij: for, the rest of the Armie that were further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or thereabouts, from the nearest wintering Campes. And being aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus coming, hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Governour of Samarobrinc, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the vvhole Armie, the hostages of the Provinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together with all the Corne which hee had got for the provision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion.

Cæ.

Labie.

Cumber.

Labiens, understanding of the death of Fabritius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the whole forces of the Treveri were marching towards him, he doubted, that if his setting forward out of his winter station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to undergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made insolent: and therefore informed Cæsar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp, relating what had happened amongst the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treveri, both horse and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Campe.

Cæsar, allowing of these reasons, howsoever his hope of three legions was fallen unto two; yet his whole trust was in celeritie, as the onely means of all their safeties: and so by great journeys, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he understood by the Captives, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perswaded a certaine horseman of the Galles, by great rewards offered unto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which he sent writ in Greeke Characters, lest his purposes should be discovered, if the Letter had been intercepted: advising, that if he could not come to his presence, hee should tie it to the hring of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee advertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the works by a Dart; which fell by chance upon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceived: the third day, a souldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; who read it publicly in the assembly of the souldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the same time, the smoke of their fires began a farre off to be discovered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, being advertised thereof by their Discoverers, left the siege and made towards Cæsar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thousand men or thereabouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie, sought out the same Vertice before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæsar: advising him to bee warie and diligent in his passage; signifying by those Letters, that the Enemy had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Letters, being brought unto Cæsar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by encouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he removed his Campe; and having marched about foure miles, he discovered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a River. It was a matter of exceeding danger to give battell to so great a number, in a place of disadvantage; yet forasmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbear to make such haste: and thereupon fate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Campe. Which being of it selfe very little, as not having scarce leaven thousand men, & those without any carriages: yet he lessened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the vnuall streets thereof; to the end he might the better defend it if happily the enemy might be drawne to ingage himselfe seriously in any attempt upon the same. In the meane time, having sent out Discoverers into all parts, he informed him-

selfe

selfe which way he might most conveniently passe over the valley.

The same day, after small incounters of the Cavalrie at the vwater, either partie contained themselves within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæsar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then upon discovery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the River with lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Cavalrie of the enemy came neerer unto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horsemen. Cæsar, of set purpose, commaunded the horsemen to fall back, and to betake themselves into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe up the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselves tumultuously, and with a feigned shew of great feare. With which inducements, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought over all his forces, and imbattailed them in an unequal and disadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were emboldened to come neerer, and to cast vocations from all parts into our works: sending Heralds round about with Proclamations, That if any Gall or Roman would come over unto the before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there was no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that whereas the Ports were shut up for a shewe, with a single rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made up in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill up the ditches.

Which Cæsar perceiving, sallied out at all the Ports at once; & sending out the Cavalrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: inasmuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woods and bogs, that lay in their passage (being unwilling to hazard himselfe upon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety; and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemy: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had been carried. Hee commended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit, callth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deserved extraordinarily in that service; informed himselfe by the Captives, of the certainty of Sabinius and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publicly to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and encouragement; shewing, that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the assistance of the immortal Gods, and by their owne vertues, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themselves were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

OBSERVATION.

THe passages in this Chapter, are of great variety, and do give occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troops of men, may be a means to bring a partie to an overthrow: for, an extraordinary power doth alwaies beget an opinion forcing to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which futeeth with securitie and victorious successe; vvhich being crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth consequentlie draw all, the other way: and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæsar's luddaine falying out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was slaine, and the Countrey quieted.



IN the meane time, the report of Cæsars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: insomuch, as being fiftymiles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the overthrow was given about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout at the Campe gate before midnight; whereby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The same vvhether of being caried to the Treniri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treniri. Cæsar remaunded Fabius, with the legion into their winter stations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrinc. And forasmuch as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe refused to abide with the Armie all the winter: for, vpon the newes of the overthrow of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; sent Messengers and Embassadors into all parts, to make overtures for future resolutions, and to understand in what place the war might best be set on foot; holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that winter, vvhich brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Cæsar, least he should be aduertised of these meetings and conspiracies, amongst these occurrences.

Britannie.

He had intelligence from L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but understanding of Cæsars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

meant to flie away. But Cæsar, having called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of every State; terrifying some, as seeming to understand their compliments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Canarinius, who Cæsar had set to be king over them (whose brother Moritasgus, at Cæsars coming into Gallia, and whose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): which he perceiving, fledde away, and was persecuted to the very borders, and so driven as well out of his private house, as of his kingdom. And having sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to satisfie him herein; whereas hee commaunded the whole Senate to come vnto him, they refused to obey his warrant: so much it preuailed amongst barbarous people, that there were some found that durst aough the undertaking of a vvarre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the ttedui, and the State of Rheimes, whom Cæsar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other for their late seruices in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. Insomuch, as I knowe not well, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieved, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treniri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that Winter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germanies could be perswaded to passe the Rheine. For, having twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Aruonsius, in the passage of the Teuchtheri, they would tempt Fortune no further.

Frankesfort.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did notwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him banisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadors came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and sought his fauour both in publique and private. When he understood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were infligated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Nervii and Aduntaci, made prouision of war against the Romaines, and that hee should not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; being such, as constrained all the men that were of yeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Councell, hee tooke order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Cæsar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Cc 3.

That

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: whether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waste their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himselfe, or the legions; but rather studied not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter handsomely, and to purpose. And therefore, being aduersified by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he sent Messengers to call the conjoining citties, and commaunded horsemen to be sent vnto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid vp and downe almost euery day, with all his cavalerie vnder his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, other while to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: & his horsemen, for the most part, would cast their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy beleue that hee was sore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the campe, one night, hauing taken in the cavalerie of the bordering citties, which he had formerly sent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) within his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approached neere the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horsemen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; without any word giuen in answer by them. And a little before the euening, as they dispersed themselves and departed vpon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the cavalerie at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he saw would necessarily happen) that euery one should make after Induciomarus: and that no man should so much as wound any other Enemy, before they saw him slaine; Being very vnwilling, to giue him time to escape, while the souldiours were ingaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to thē that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was surpris'd in the sword of a Riuer, & slaine; & his head was brought backe into the campe: the horsemen returning, slew as many of the rest as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cæsar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

Liege.

OBSERVATION.



As the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; so the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is said of the Spaniard; that In some cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF
Cæſars Commentaries of the
Ciwill Warres.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæſars giuing vp his gouernment: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either ſide beſtirred themſelues, to ſeize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the Eaſt, and Cæſar the Weſt part of the Empire; and deſeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæſars behalfe.

LETTER *ſ* being deliuered by Fabius, to the Conſuls from C. Cæſar, it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but to conſult thereof, or to bring the Contents in queſtion, would not be granted. The Conſuls propounded buſineſſes concerning the ſtate of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Conſull, proteſted his aſſiſtance ſhould not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would ſpeake their mindes freely and boldly: but if they reſpectled Cæſar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they uſually had) he would then take a courſe for him ſelfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate, neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Cæſars friendſhip and good acceptance. To the ſame effect ſpoke Scipio, that Pompey was reſolued to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would ſtand to him: but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter ſhould they ſeek ſaye from him, albeit they inſtantly deſired it. This ſpeech of Scipios, ſeemed to come from

B.

Pompeis

Pompeys owne mouth, he himselfe being absent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Citie. Some others spake more temperately, as first, M. Marcellus, who thought it not convenient, that the Senate should bring these things in question, untill they had made a leuie of souldiers throughout all Italie, and inroled an Army; by whose protection, they might safely & freely determine what they thought fit: As also M. Calidius, who thought it requisite, that Pompey should goe to his Prouinces and Governments, to remoue all occasions of taking Armes: For, Caesar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neere about the citie to his preiudice. And likewise M. Rufus, varying some few words, declared himselfe of Calidius opinion. All these were bitterly reprooued by L. Lentulus the Consull; who utterly denied to publish what Calidius had sentenced. Marcellus feared with these menaces, retracted his opinion. And so, what with the clamor of the Consull, the terrour of the present Armie, and the threatening used by Pompeys faction, most of the Senators were compelled against their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by a certaine day Caesar should dissolve and dismis his Armie; which if he did refuse to doe, that then he openly shewed himselfe an Enemy to the Common-weale. M. Antonius, and L. Cassius, Tribunes of the people, did oppose this decree. Their opposition was instantly spoken vnto; and many sharpe & hard censures were giuen vpon the same: for, according as any one spake most bitterly, and cruelly, so they were most highly commended by Caesars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the ensignes of honour, displaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations; so are these Relations branded in the forehead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decried cause, ill besitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chiefe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the losse of Crassus, chose rather to imbrow their ambitious swords in the blood of their owne Country: Eagle against Eagle, and Pile against Pile, in a warre which could chalenge no Triumph. If it be now demanded as formerly it was,

Quis furor ô Cines? qua tanta licentia ferri?

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Caesars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the losse of so many Romaines? It were besides the scope of these discourses, to lay an imputation vpon either of those Worthies; the one being chiefe Assistant to the Empire, when she put off her Consularie Government, and the other sitting sole at the helme, directing a course to fetch in many Caesars. Onely this I may truly say with Tacitus; That Ciuill wars were neuer set on foote by iustifiable courses. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this storie (which is more to be regarded then

*Parr. Aguilas
et tela militaria
spolia.
Mella per pla-
ceat milites habere
tota triumphum.
Luc. lib. 1.*

*Arma ciuilia
nonque parati,
neque habere,
per hanc ante
passi.
Tac. 1. Annal.*

then either Socrates or Platos friendship) it shall not be impertinent to fetch the causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

The histories of that age do all intimate, that whe Rome had ennobled Pompey with her seruice, & stiled him by imployments with the title of Greatness, as a satisfaction for the iniuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalengeth the renewe of other mens labours, and suffereth no subiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of seruice & obedience) assumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his; in which conceit, the ambition of his spirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a seruant; so easily are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe vnder the awe of priuate command. In this height of greatnesse & authoritie, he made way for Caesar, his father in law; hauing a spirit as subiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Familis: And vpon the ending of his first Consulship, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the government of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia which they called Cisalpina, containing the Countries that lie betweene the Alpes and the little River Rubico, together with Slauonia, and foure legions of souldiers for the terme of five yeares. At the expiration wherof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the assistance of Crassus, for five yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Caesars daughter, who Pompey had married, was deceased (wherby Caesar stood single, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoise of a third partie, to hold them balanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus liued) Pompey, jealous of those victories and passages of Armes which Caesar had achieved by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found means first to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to send him a succesor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a priuate person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Caesar taking as an assurance of his downefall, gaue huge summes of money to gaue Paulus Aemilius, one of the Consuls, and C. Curio, a Tribune of the people, to resist this Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and hauing no hope of repealing the same, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Cisalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, untill hee should obtaine the Consulship; which was the effect of these Letters deliuered by Fabius. And beeing denied by Pompeys faction, in these partiall and tumultuous assemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyalty to the State, verifying the olde saying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

*Amicus Socrates
et Platonis Platonis
de Magni amici
causam, Aristot.
lib. 1. Ethic.
Pomp. Mag.
Constantine
was so zealous
directed that he
subscribed an
edict, that the
honour of all
victories should
be attributed
to him, al-
though they
were achieved
1000 leagues
off.*

*Ponte cadit mo-
dis, parsque
impulsit vnde
paucent Rati-
onem, et Gallica
certus limus, ab
Antonius differ-
mit vna colo-
rum. Lucan. 1.
Ficta tribu di-
minis communi
Roma.*

*Pompeius, Ce-
sar, et Crassus.
Nisi fide iustis
Crassus erat bel-
li Medus mora.
Nisi fide iustis
Crassus, nec fu-
isset Regis. En-
nius.*

*Ne quomodo
aut fore passus
Cassius prius?
Pompeius prius
Lucan. 1.1.
Archades hoc
effugit non
trudere mores.
Martial.
Sapientior for-
tuna lucum fecit
inuria. Seneca
Epist. 91.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Tribunes
of the people.



Concerning the opposition of the Tribunes, it is to be understood, that the people eaten vp with vsurie, and other grieuous exactions, forsooke both the Citie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Dolci and the Equi; and taking themselues to a Mountaine nere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had giuen order for their grieuances. In which transaction it was agreed, that there should be Magistrates chosen out of the body of the people, to counterpoise the power of the Senate, and to restraine the boundlesse authoritie of the Consuls: which office, was recond in the number of their holiest things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender should redeeme it with the losse of his life. Their whole power consisted in letting & hindring. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senatour, went about a matter, which might be preiudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the communalitie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpose their authority, to frustrate and auert the same: which was auailable, albeit the matter was gainesaid by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent persons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Citie. Their doores were neuer shut, but stood open night and day, for a refuge to such as should flie to them for succour: neither was it lawfull for them to be absent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magistracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Clientio*. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was suppressed by Sylla; restored by Pompey; and vtterly taken away by the Emperour Constantine.

What kind of
Common-
wealth was this
of Rome.
Libertariane;
iurande magis;
quia amicitia
civile Imperium
sacrum est, quod
quod immunitas
quod cum sit in
regni potestate,
numeri. Liv.
lib. 2.
Hic legibus deli-
biturum est Im-
perio consilium
est. Liv. lib. 4.
Lictor.
Vltor.

If it be demanded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine govern-
ment was; it is to be understood, that vpon the expulsion of their Kings, the
soveraintie rested in their Consuls. For, as Liuius saith, there was nothing di-
minished of kingly government, save onely for the better establishing of li-
bertie, that the Consular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long,
for Publicola imparted this soveraintie to the Communalitie; making it law-
full to appeale from the Consuls to the people. Whereby the Consular sove-
rainie was dissolved, and the people tooke occasion to oppose themselves a-
gainst the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocall inuictiues between the Senate
and the Tribunes; and when the Consull sent a Seriant to the Tribune, the
Tribune would send a Pursuant to the Consull. And so the Common-wealth
halted betwene an Aristocratie and a Democratic, vntill at length the voegg
of the Communalitie, drew it to a perfit Democratic, and made their Acts of
Senate of no value, vnlesse they were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Se-
nate, affording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, such as hauing in-
larged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour,
and

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

and were the flower of that people, which Cyncas called a towne of kings,
were contentlie so engaged in the businesse of the State, that matters
were for the most part, carried as they stood affected; as appeareth by this
passage of Caesar.

5
Cynas inter-
rogatus a Tyrho
qualis Roma es-
set? Respondit
Regni vrbem esse
videri. Just. l. 8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane
of all consultations: especiallie, when the common good is sha-
dowed vith priuate respects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Ro-
maine Senate, farre exceeded all that can be spoken of other Coun-
cells of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any. Cariline that would
lift vp his head higher then his fellows: yet here it suffered equitie and in-
differencie to be suppressed with faction, giuing way to violence, which go-
uerneth all things vntowardlie; and with cordes of priuate hate, oftentimes
draweth the Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention where-
of, the Athenians swore their Senatours, to make the common good the
chiefest scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that priuate respects are
alwaies offensive to publique ends; and the State euer suffereth, when fauour
preuaileth against the common profit.

Tully, going about to direct a Councillor in this behalfe, onely witheth a
man to deliuer sincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee hap-
pen to stand alone in his owne conceit: for, the issue of a businesse, dooth not
so much concerne a Councillor, as to speake truly his opinion thereof. And
to that end, the custome of the Romaine Senate was, that the youngest & such
as came last in place, should declare themselves first; that they might not be
forestalled in their opinions, nor put besides that they would haue spoken; to-
gether with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, things first spo-
ken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theo-
dorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer shew himselfe on the stage after
any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators.
Notwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Caesar, in fauour of
Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to
anticipate the opinion of others that should follow.

The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Ty-
berius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath,
that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn: Piso replied; What place
wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Caesar: for, if thou speake first, I knowe
how to follow; if last, I am afraid I shall dissent from thy opinion. But that
which is most blameable in matter of counsell, is, when they come to the
Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. VVhercin L: Piso is deservedly com-
mended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselfe of a feeble opinion;
but when necessitie forced him, hee tempered it with wisdom. Neither is it

Faction in a
Counsell is an
enemy to the
publique good.

Non male dic-
ta missus est im-
perio, et simulat
non raro, priuati
soli perniciam
in publicum ex-
tremum. Tac. 1. hist.

Atheniensis Se-
nator iurabat se
propeque populo
consuliturus. De-
most. cit. Near.
1. Philippic.

Arist. 7. polit.
37.

Sueton. in vita
Iulij Caesaris.

Tacit. 1. Annal.

Tacit. 6. Annal.

the least mischief, that the condition of soueraintie is such as will hardly indure reproofe; but must be disguised, as Appolonius corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede against Cæsar,
with all eagernesſe.



THE Senate, rising a little before night, were all sent for to Pompey, & he commended them for what they had done, & confirmed them for after resolutions, reprehended such as shewed themselves indifferent, and stirred them up to more forwardness. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were sent for, upon hope of reward & advancement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Caesar, were commanded to attend; in somuch, as the Cittie swarmed with souldiers. Against the election of new Magistrats: C. Cnrio called out the Tribunes of the people. All the Consuls friends, the kinsfolke & allies of Pompey, and such others as had any former enmity with Caesar, were copelled into the Senate. By the presence & opinion of these Men, the weakest were terrified, the doubtful confirmed, & the most part were cut off from giving absolute and free voyces. L. Piso the Cenfor, and L. Roscius the Prator, offered themselves to goe to Caesar, to aduise him of these things; requiring but fixe daies space to returne an answer. Others thought it fit, that Embassadors should be sent to Caesar, to give him notice of the pleasure of the Senate. To all these was opposed what the Confull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and specially, by the repulse of the Pratorship. Lentulus, out of a consideration of his great debts, hoping to command an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to retaine the liberrall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he should thereby procure, to be stiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome in somuch, as he would not stie to boast in priuate, that hee was like to proue a second Sylla, on whom, the Soueraine command of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawn on by the same hope, of hauing the gouernment of a Prouince, or the command of an Armie; which by reason of his alliance he thought to share with Pompey (being otherwise asseared to be called into iustitie) as also through flattery and ostentation, both of himselfe, and other great friends, which were able to sway much, as well in the course of iustitie, as in the Common-wealth.

Pempey, in his particular, was much provoked by Cæsars enemies, and specially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Cæsars friendship, and had reconciled himselfe to their common Enemies; the greatest part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Cæsar.

Ponticus et
 rami et rami.
 rami et rami.
 rami et rami.
 rami et rami.
 rami et rami.
 rami et rami.

Ne quid respub
detrimenti ca-
piat.
Consecuti sunt
dies Commuti-
a'es, per quos se-
natus haberi non
poterat. Cic. L.
fratri.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

TIS the condition of humane nature, so make good that which once it hath allowed, although the matter be of small consequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it easilie be reclaimed by motives of reason, but is rather incited thereby (*per Antipatersia*) to persist in willfulness, then to harken to that which is more convenient; especially, when either iacalouse or reuenge doe implein an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no measure; but to iustifie an error, runnes headlong into all extremities, and flieth to the last refuge of desperate and deplorded cases, to make disordored passions seeme good discretion. Which evidently appeareth by Pompeis fault, in resolving of that desperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in most eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at sea, when a shipp rideth in a dangerous roile, and through the violence of the tempest, is vpon the point of shipwrack, the Mariners are wont to cast out a sheete Anker as their last refuge: so had Rome anciently recourse to this Decree, at such times as the Common-wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by serpents in their bosome at home. Liuis speaking of the warre

Ut gratia oneri
sic ultio in qua
sua habetur.
Tac.

Suprema lex
Salus reipub.

Labe. 3.

Plutarch in the
Life of Cicerō5. Phalaris
Cicero de
officiis lib. 1.
de Seneca
de vita beata
de Seneca
de vita beata
de Seneca
de vita beata

or the first, saying; The Senators were so affrighted, that following the forme of the Decree which was alwaies referred for cases of extremitie, they ordained, that *Posthumus* (one of the Consuls) should take care that the Common-wealth might not be endangered. The like was vied in ciuill and intestine seditions; as, when *Manlius Capitolinus* aspired to a Tyranny; and as likewise in the tumults of the *Gracchij*, the conspiracie of *Catiline*; and other times of like danger. For, albeit the Consuls had all soueraine authoritie, as well in warre as in peace; yet neuertheless, there were certaine referred cases where- in they had no power, without expresse order from the Senate, and assent from the people: as, to leue an Armie to make war, to take money out of the Treasury; whereas vpon such a Decree, they were enabled to dispose of all busines- ses of State, without further mouing of the Senate or people: which *Tully* no- teth in his Orations against *Anthony*. I thinke it fit (saith hee) that the whole state of the Common-wealth be left vnto the Consuls, and that they be suffe- red to defend the same; and to take care that the Common-wealth be not in- dangered.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Fabi.

2. De Fostit.

Fabi. Max.

Lentulus.

Scipio.

May not omit (for the better vnderstanding of this noble Historie) to say somewhat of the Persons here mentioned: and first of *Fabius*, as descended of the noblest and most auncient Family of the Patrician Order; being able of themselves to maintaine warre a long time against the *Veij*, a strong & warlike towne, vntill at length they were all vnfortunately slaine by an ambuscment: which *Ouid* mentioneth, where he saith;

Hic fuit illa dies, in qua Scientibus arvis,

Terecentum Fabij ter cecidere arvis.

Onely there remained of that house, a child then kept at Rome: which in tract of time, multiplied into five great Families, all which had their turne in the highest charges and dignities of the Common-wealth; amongst whom, hee that supplanted *Hanniball* by temporizing, & thereby got the surname of *Max- imus*, was most famous, as *Ennius* witnesseth;

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;

Non ponbat enim riuores ante salutem.

Ergo post que magisque viri vixit gloria claret.

But *C. Fabius*, here mentioned, neuer attained to any place of Magistracie, other then such commands as he held in the warres vnder *Cæsar*.

Lentulus the Consull was of the house of the *Cornelians*, from whom are said to come xvi. Consuls. He was from the beginning a mortall enemy to *Cæsar*, and to continued to his death, which fell vnto him in Egypt, by commande- ment of King *Ptolomey*, after *Pompey* was slaine.

Scipio was father in law to *Pompey*, after the death of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s daugh- ter; and by that meanes, obtained the gouernment of Asia. In the beginning of

of the Ciuill war, he brought good succors to assist his son in law, as it follows in the third Commentary: & vpon the ouerthrowe at *Pharsalia* he fled into *Affrick*, where he renewed the war, & became chief Commander of the remaining party against *Cæsar*; but being in the end defeated, he made towards Spaine: and fearing by the way least he should fall into his enemies hands, he slew himselfe.

Marcellus was of the auncient Family of the *Claudians*, which came origi- nally of the *Sabines*; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of *Tullies*, intitu- led, *Pro Marcello*. He was afterwards slaine by one *Chilo*.

M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine histories, for attaining in a small time to so great a height in that gouernment; for, in all the warres of Gallia, he was but a Treasurer vnder *Cæsar*, which was the least of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the ciuill wars, hee was made Tribune of the peo- ple; and within lesse then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with *Octavius Cæsar* in the gouernment of the Empire. And if *Cleopatra*'s beautie had not blinded him, he might haue easily through the fauour of the souldiers supplanted his Competitor, and seized vpon the Monarchie.

The name of *Cassius* was ominous for trouble to the state of Rome, & their ends were as vnfortunate. This *L. Cassius*, for his part, after the great troubles he had stirred vp in Spaine, was drowned in the mouth of the *Riuier Eber*.

Piso was made Censor in the Consulship of *L. Paulus* and *Claudius Mar- cellus*, hauing himselfe been Consull eight yeeres before, in the yere of Rome 695, succeeding *Cæsar*, and *Bibulus*; and was the man against whom *Tullie* penned that Oration which is extant in *Pisonem*. Touching the office of Cen- sor, it is to be vnderstood, that about the yeere of Rome 310, the Consuls be- ing distracted with multiplicitie of forraigne businesse, omitted the Censure or alsment of the Citie for some yeeres together: wherevpon it was afterwards thought fit, that there should be a peculiar officer appointed for that seruice, and to be called Censor; forasmuch as euery man was to be taxed, ranked and valued, according to his opinion & censure. The first part of their office con- sisted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & possession of the Romaine citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the num- ber of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne strength, and to shapethier course accordingly, either in vnder taking warres, transplant- ing Colonies, or in making prouision of victuals in time of peace. It was also as requisite to know euery mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of *Ouid*;

finique certis

Legibus est ætas, unde petatur honos.

M. Antonius commanded that the names of the Romaine children should be brought into the Treasurie within 30 daies after they were borne; according to which custome, Francis the French king published an Edict, Anno 1539, that euery parish should keepe a Register of burials and chrisenings: which since that time is vied in England.

The distinction of conditions and states, ranging euery man in his proper order, is as necessary in the Common-wealth, and as woorthy of the Censors notice,

Marcellus.

M. Anto.

Cassius.

Piso.

To know the
number of Cit-
izens.

Their age.

De Fost.

Halitus affe-
us lib. 3.
Gothofred ad L.
atrem 3.
S. De Cons.
Their calling.
Maiores primus
quisquis fuit ille
interueniens Pra-
toris iuris, aut il-
lus quod decre-
uol.

notice as any thing belides. Neither may the attestation of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that every man might beare a part in the seruice of the State. In which respect, Seruius Tullius is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time every man paid alike: for men are taken to bee interested in the Common-weale according to their meanes. The last and baseliest sort of Citizens, were named *Capite censi*, and were set in the Subsidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not assessed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

The second and chiefest part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of every Common-weale; to which end they had power to inquire into every mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Famme, or left his Vine vntrimmed, the Censors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horse leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They depoled, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: advanced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the best rank of Magistrates in Rome. L. Roscius had formerly bin one of Cæsars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the fifth Commentary, *Tertiam in Eßnos, L. Roscio*. The Prætor was ludge in causes of controuersie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongst the Turkes.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.

Pompey having a charge of an Army, could not enter into the Citty prohibited by diuers Lawes.

Post. Sulla.

R. v. Sulla, factus a. d. annis.

Gallia & Syria uicinas conuulsiue Provincias.

Quoniam in his Gallia & Syria uicinas conuulsiue Provincias.



THE next day after, the Senate assembled out of the Citty: where Pompey (according to such instructions as he had formerly given to Scipio) extolled their constancy & magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, consisting of ten legions in Armes; and further assured them, he knew of certaine; that Cæsars soldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drayne either to defend or follow him. And upon the assurance of these conferences, other motions were entertained: As first, that a leuie should be made throughout all Italy. That Faustus Sulla should forthwith be sent as Proprætor into Mauritania. That money should be deliuered out of the Treasurie to Pompey. That king Iuba might haue the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, slopt the passage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermanded Faustus commission: other matters were passed by Act. The two Consular, and the other Prætorian Provinces, were given to private men that had no office of Magistracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L. Domitius. Philippus and Marcellus were purposely omitted, and no lottes cast for their employment. Into the other Provinces were sent Prætors, without any consent or approbation of the

the

the people, as formerly had beene accustomed: and hauing performed their ordinary voyes, they put on their Military garments, and so tooke their iourney. The Consuls (which before that time was neuer seene) went out of the Citty, & had their Seruants priuily within the Citty, and in the Capitoll, against all order and ancient custome. A leuie was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commanded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and abolishment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generally true which Philosphers say: That the forme giueth being to whatsoever subisteth, and that every thing hath his name from his fashion and making: then it must necessarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confusion. For, complements and solemnities, are neither *Nimia* nor *Minima* (as some haue imagined) either superfluities, which may bee spared, or trifles of small consequence. But, as the flesh couereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: so are ceremonies, which ancient custome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesse of publique actions, which otherwise would not be distinguished from priuate busineses. And therefore the neglect of such ceremonies, as were usually obserued to ennoble their actions, was as iniurious to the safety of the Empire, and as euident a demonstration of faction and disloyalties; as the allotment of Provinces to priuate persons, or whatsoever else they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publique Weale.

Concerning which it is to be vnderstood, that no man was capable of those governments, but such as had borne the chiefest offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that commonly upon the expiration of their offices, the Consuls and Prætors did either call lots for the Provinces, which they called *Sortiri provincias*, or did otherwise agree amongst themselves how they should be disposed: and that they termed, *Comparare Provincias*. Liuius toucheth both the one & the other; *Principio insequentis anni cum Consulibus noui de Provinciis retuli, sent, primoque tempore, aut comparare inter eos Italiam et Macedonia, aut sortiri placuit*. Howbeit, sometimes the people (whose assent was alwaies necessary) interposed their authoritie, & disposed the same as they thought expedient. But such as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of those dignities, nor thought fit to command abroad, hauing neuer shewed their sufficiencie at home.

For the manner of their setting forward out of Rome, after they were assigned to employments, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they first went into the Capitoll, & there made publick sacrifices & solemn voyes, either

C. 2.

Paldati exiit.

The use of Ceremonies, forma dat nomini esse, trip.

Nimia et Minima.

Consulari legibus, iurisdictione, sed in domo, in domo, in domo, in domo.

The manner of disposing of the Provinces and governments.

Sortiri Provincias, comparare Provincias. Lib. 43.

The manner of their setting forward to their governments.

Nota mun-
pari.
Palatium.
Alaric li. 3.
cap. 2.
Saturnal.
Paladati.

Lib. C. de legibus
Lat.

F. Arrian, li. 1.
cap. 6.

to build a Temple, or to do some other work worthy good fortune, if their designs were happily attained; which they called *Vota munuspari*. And hee that had made such a vow, stood *voti reus* untill his busines sorted to an issue; and after he had attained his desire, he was *voti damnatus*, untill he had acquitted himselfe of his promise.

Touching their habite expressed in this phrase, *Paludati exeunt*, it appeareth, as well by ancient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a cloake vied and worn by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chiefe, or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left shoulder. Festus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta*. And Varro giuing a reason of that name, saith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, sunt hec insignia et ornamenta Militaria; Ideo ad bellum, cum exisset Imperator, ac Lictores mutantes vestem, et signa incernerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficisci: quia, propterea quod conspiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam sunt, Paludamenta dicta*. The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a presage of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Citie in Mesopotamia, one gaue Crassus a black cloake instead of a white, as hee went to lose the battaile to the Parthians.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, not contented with the spacious circuit of the sunne, bounding their Empire with the East and the West, but for want of Regions and Countreys, searching the vastnes and depth of the sea; did fi some acknowledge any other soueraintie, or leaue a partic worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had beene so fortunate, as to gaue the fauour and estimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon speciall and deserved respects, or at the instance of their Generalls: broad, enforcing the worthines of such Potentates, and the advantage they might bring to the seruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuie, concerning Vermina, king Syphax sonne; that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vntill he first he had right well defetued of the Common-weale.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewise particularly expressed by Liuie, in another place speaking of Scipio. The day following (saith hee) to put king Malsinilla out of his griefe and melancholie, hee attended vpon his Tribunall, and hauing called an assembly of the fouldiers, presented him before them; where he first honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praises: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a scepter of luorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Caesar: That Ariouistus was by the Senate stiled by the name of King and Friend, and presented with great and rich gifts: which happened but to few, and was onely giuen by the Romaines to men of great desert. How-

beit,

beit, such as had gouernments and employments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour; whereof Caesar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this sense was king Iuba brought in question, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Associate to the State of Rome.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Touching the franchises and liberties of the townes of Italy, and others in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, those were called *Municipes*, that being gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Magistrates, were neuertheless indowed with the freedom of Rome. And therefore Adrianus maruailed, that the Italianes and Viuicenes, did rather desire to bee Colonis, and so tied to the obedience of forraigne & strange lawes, then to liue in a Municipall state, vnder their owne Righis and Customes; and as Festus addeth, with the vse of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, such as they anciently vied, before they were priuiledged with the immunities of Rome.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, we are to obserue, that there were degrees and differences of Municipall townes; for some had voices with the Romaine people, in all their elections and suffragies: and some others had none at all. For, Gellius in the same place, saith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom of the Citie, for preferring the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Gallies, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of *Cerites Tabule*, wherein the Censors inrolled such, as were by them for some iust cause deprived of their voices. And the Tusculani, beeing at first recieued into the liberties of the Citie, according to the admission of the Cerites, were afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyces.

The meanes of obtaining this freedom, was first and specially by Virthe, wherein it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the Parents, as well the mother as the father, should be free themselves. Howbeit, Vlpian writeth, that the sonne may challenge the freedom of the State, wherein his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Puteolis, he iudgeth the sonne to belong to Campania: According to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalle. Neuertheless, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Illue; That if the wife were a citizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children should be Romaine Citizens. And the Emperour Iustinian, caused it likewise to be decreed, that the mother being a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the son should be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Cines originarij*.

The second meanes of obtaining this freedom, was by Manumission, or setting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Cittizens; and yet ranked in the last and meanest order of the people.

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Lib. 1. de bell.
Gallies.

Et Spe. Apellat.
forum Regum.

Municipes.

Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Lib. 11.

Com. suffragio

Muni-

cipium

Sine suffragio.

Cerites Tabula

Lib. 1. 6.

Lib. 1. 3.

Lib. 1. 3.

Cines originarij.

The third meane, was by gift, or cooptation; and to Romulus at first enlarged and augmented Rome; Theseus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, sited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the first, London; by taking all such strangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuse in giuing this honour. Cicero floures Caesar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the City; and Anthony gaue it to all that liued in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vlpian witnesseth, Rome was called *Communis Patria*. Popular states were more sparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the answer of one of the Corinthian Embassadors, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (saith he) to any man but to thy selfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedaemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Titamenus and his brother.

The priuiledges of this freedome were great; for, the Citizens of Rome were held to be *ciuitate plenos*. Is the best man of Gallia (saith Tully) to be compared with the meanest Citizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiring, that the life of a Citizen should not bee brought in question, but by the generall assembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Cofanus, a Romaine Citizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vn sufferable: *Faciunt est (inquit) vinciri Cinem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parvum necari, quid dicam in crucem agi?* vwith many the like examples: besides the possibility they were in, if their sufficiency were answerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and consequently, Commanders of the Empire.

CHAP. III.

Caesar tasteth the affection of the Souldiers.

Cesar vnderstanding of these things, called the souldiers together, and acquainted them with all the injuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their practice and meanes alienated from him, and drawne through enuy of his good fortune, to partialize against him; notwithstanding that he had alwaies affected his honour, and encouraged the advancement of his renowne and dignity: Lamenting likewise the president which this time had brought into the state; that the Tribunes authoritie should be opposed and suppressed by Armes, which former ages had by force of Armes reestablished. For, Sylla hauing stript the Tribuneship, naked of all rights and prerogatives, yet left it the freedome of opposition: But Pompey, who would come to restore it to the dignity from which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer refused of that Ail, That the Magistrates should take a course for the seruise of the Common-weale, whereby the people were necessarily summoned to Armes;

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and secession of the people, vpon the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held against the State: which disloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and disaster of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this present, there was no such matter attempted, so much as in thought: no law published; no practice with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorred them; that forasmuch as vnder his leading and command, for nine yeeres together they had most happily caried the government, sought many prosperous and victorious battels, settled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it against the malice of his aduersaries. The souldiers of the xij. legion which were present (for them onely had bee called out in the beginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out instantly, That they were ready to vnder take his defence against such wrongs and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

In Publique-weales and Societies are chiefly supported and maintained by iustice: so likewise, such as liue in the ciuill communie of the same, and inioy the benefit of a well qualified government, doe take themselves interested in the maintenance of iustice, and cannot indure the tyrannye of wrongs; vnlesse happily (as every man is partiall in his owne cause) they be the authors thereof themselves. The first dutie of iustice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*, did Caesar make the theme of his Oration to the souldiers; aggrauating his particular iniuries, by opening and enforcing the malice of his Aduersaries: and making the State a partie in his sufferings, through the oppression and defacing of the Tribuneship; which in times of libertie, and iust proceeding, was sacred and inuiolable.

These remonstancs were apprehended by the souldiers, as matters specially concerning their dutie; holding themselves either bound to redresse them, or otherwise to be guiltie of betraying their parents, coutry, companions & friends. Some report, that one L. Iulius, a Primipile of Caesars Armie, making answer to this speech, gaue assurance of the souldiers good affection; which the rest approved with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophisme, pretending Caesars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, we may obserue, that as discord and dissension, renting asunder the bonds of ciuill communie, are the bane of flourishing and opulent Cities, and make the greatest Empires examples of Mortalitie: so by the same rule of discourse, it is also true, that the mutual

Non Exortant
neque Thesauri
preidia regni
sunt, verum a-
mici. Salsitani
belli Insuper.
Lido amicitia.

Ti quisque max-
ime opibus prin-
cipatus, et pte-
statis excellit, pa-
menici maxime
indigent. Arist.
Ethic. 8.

mutual respects of well qualified friendship, are as expedient, both for the sta-
blishing of the ioynts of a publicke State, & for keeping the particular parts in
due temper and proportion, as either treasure, or Armies, or any other thing
required therein. Hence it is that Cicero saith, that we haue as much vse
of friendship, as of fire and water: and that he that should goe about to take it
from among men, did inuadour (as it were) to take the sunne out of the hea-
uen; which by heat, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as
men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vse of many wheeles for the
motion of their feutall occasions; so haue they the more neede of amitie and
correspondencie, to second the multiplictie of their desires, and to put on
their businesse to their wished ends.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar taketh Arminium, receiueh and aunswereh
messages from Pompey.

Cæsar hauing sounded the minds of the souldiers, went di-
rectly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with
the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, sent for
the rest of their legions from their wintering Campes, and
gane order they should follow him. Thither came young L.
Cæsar, whose father was a Legate in Cæsars Campe. And af-
ter some speech of the occasion of his coming, acquainted Cæsar, that Pompey
had giuen him a message in charge to be deliuered vnto him: which was, that he
desired to cleare himself to Cæsar, least he might peradventure take those things
to be done in scorn of him, which were commaunded onely for the seruice of the
State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any priuate respect: and
that Cæsar likewise was tied in honour to lay aside his indignation and affection
for the Common-wealths sake: and not to be so transported with anger and dis-
daine of his Adversaries, as he seemed to be, least in hoping to bee auenged of
them, he should hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added somewhat
more of the same subiect, together with excuses on Pompeys behalfe. Almost the
selfe same discourse, and of the selfe same things, Roscius the Prætor dealt with
Cæsar, and said that hee had receiued them in charge from Pompey: which al-
though they seemed no way to satisfie or remooue the iniuries and wrongs com-
plained of; yet hauing got fit men, by whom that which he wished might bee im-
parted to Pompey, he praised the both, for that they had brought vnto him what
Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to retorne his desires to Pom-
pey; if happily with so little labour they might accord so great differences, and
free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the
Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. He greued much,
that

Rimini.

L. Cæsar.

that a benefite giuen him by the people of Rome, should be slightly wrested from
him by his aduersaries; that six months of his government were to be cut off, &
so he to be called home to the Citie: notwithstanding the people had commaun-
ded at the last creation of Magistrates; that there should regard be had of him,
although absent. Neerthelesse, for the Common-wealths sake hee could be con-
sent to undergoe the losse of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that
all men might quit their Armies, he was so far from gaining the same, that con-
trariwise a leuie was thereupon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions
which were drayne from him, under a pretence of the Parthian warre, were still
retained about the Citie, which was likewise in Arms. And to what tended all
this, but his destruction? And yet notwithstanding, hee was content to condi-
scend to all things, and to indure all inconueniences, for the cause of the Pub-
lique weale. Let Pompey goe to his gouernment and Prouinces; let both the Ar-
mies be discharged, let all men in Italy lay downe their Armies; let the Citie be
freed of feare; the assemblies of the people left to their ancient libertie; and
the whole government of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome.
For the better accomplishment whereof, vnder well advised and secure condi-
tions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the same: or otherwise, let Pompey
approache neuer vnto him; or suffer Cæsar to come neerer to him: that these
controuersies might happily receiue an end by conference.

Roscius, hauing this message, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Cæsar;
where finding the Consuls and Pompey, he deliuered vnto them Cæsars proposi-
tions. They hauing consulted of the matter, made an answer in writing, and
returued it by them to Cæsar, whereof this was the effect; That he should retorne
into Gallia, quit Arminium, & dismishe his Army: which if he did, Pompey would
then goe into Spaine; in the meane time, untill assurance were giuen that Cæsar
would performe as much as he promised the Consuls & Pompey would not forbear
to leuie souldiers. The condition was too vnequal, to require Cæsar to leaue Ar-
minium, and to retorne into his Prouince; and Pompey to hold Prouinces & le-
gions belonging to other men: to haue Cæsar dismishe his Army, and he to raise
new troopes; to promise simply to goe to his gouernment, but to assigne no day
for his departure: in summe, that if hee had not gone untill Cæsars time of go-
uernment had expired, he could not haue been blamed for falsifying his promise.
But so far much as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any shew of
communinge ner, there could no hope be conceived of peace.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Cæsar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vn-
derstanding how matters past at Rome, according as Plutarch
reporteth, commaunded diuers of his Centurions to goe before
to Arminium, without any other armour then their swords; and to
possesse themselves thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then lea-
uing the troopes about him to be commaunded by Hortensius, he continued
a whole day together in publique fight of all men, to behold the fencing of the

D.

Sword.

Capua.
Cornelius, tog-
g, saith, that
this answer
was made at
Clusium, in the
territories of
Etruria, the 25
of January.

Plutarche in vi
of Cæsar.

*Multa uideri
volunt uelle,
sed uoluntate
societas, quod*

*Let it be vpon
the Dice.
E. num. 31. dicit
adum. 31. dicit
in p. 10. p. 10.
in p. 10. p. 10.
in p. 10. p. 10.
in p. 10. p. 10.
in p. 10. p. 10.
in p. 10. p. 10.*

Sword-players. At night hee bathed his body, and then kept companie with such as he had bidden to supper; and after a while rose from the table, wishing every man to keepe his place, for he would instantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing secretly commaunded some of his followers to attend him in such manner as might giue least suspition, hee himselfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making shew of going a contrary way, turned suddenly towards Arminium. When hee came to the little river Rubicon, which diuided his gouernment from the rest of Italie, he stood confounded through remorfe of his desperate designe, and wist not whether it were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aside all doubtfull cogitations, he resolved vpon a desperate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge*. And passing ouer the River, neuer staid running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and shewed them to the souldiers, as they were driuen to flie out of Rome, disguised like slaues in a Carriers cart.

It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this River, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnatural sense; but of that, hee himselfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and standeth in Romanian, vpon the Adriatick sea, in the Popes dominion. The River Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Augustus caused a faire bridge to be built, with this inscription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMILITO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRM. E-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINITO. NEC CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEATVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCTO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVS-SIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICA-TVS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. AS-PORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.
S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF this manner of proceeding be brought into dispute, and the reason required why Caesar kept not himselfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne desire, or otherwise haue drawne his aduersaries to buckle with the strength of those conquering Legions; and so brought the businesse to a short end, with as great probability of good successe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderstoode, that in cautes of this nature, which fill dome admitte anie treaue of accomde, hee that striketh first, and hath the advantage

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a designe in hand, it is farre more safe to begin first, and by way of preuention, to giue the onset on him, rather then to shew a readinesse of resisting his assaults. For, if blowes (of necessitie) must be way-makers to peace, it were a mistaking to be either wanting or behind hand therein; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands affected to deny what is iust, and of right due, doth neuertheless grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not sticke to supply all vnwill refusals, with as great an ouer-plus of what may be demanded. For which cause, Caesar staid not the coming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand; and so preuailing all intendements, hee put his aduersaries to such a straight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with whatsoeuer was sacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Countrey.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Caesar taketh diuers Municipall Townes.



OR which regard, he sent M. Antonius with fine cohorts to Arctium: but he himselfe staid at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to enroll new troopes; and with several cohorts, tooke Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being aduertised that Thermus, the Prator, did hold Tignium, with fine cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee sent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose coming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The souldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there reueened with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice wherof, Caesar conceiuing hope of the fauourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legioun out of their guarizons, and marched towards Auximum; a towne held by Attius, with certaine cohorts which hee had brought thither with him: and hauing sent out diuers Senatoars, made a leuie of men thoroughout all the Countrey of Picenum.

Caesars coming being knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Attius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concerned not him at all: for, neither themselves, nor the rest of the Municipall townes, would shut their gates against such a Commander as Caesar was; that by great and worthy seruice had so well deserved of the Common-wealth:

*Magna uolunt
uultu, et inuol
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod
uoluntate, quod*

*Caesar.
Idcirco, 1 legio
habet about
2500 men.
Pisaurum.
Pisaurum. Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignium.*

*Auximum.
Attius Varus.
Picenum.*

and therefore advised him to consider what might ensue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. *Varrus*, being thoroughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Garrison which he had brought in, and so fled away: and being overtaken by a few of *Cæsar's* first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giving battell, was forsaken of his men. Some of the souldiers went home, and the rest came to *Cæsar*. Amongst them was taken *L. Puppins*, Centurion of a Primipile order, which place he had formerly held in *Pompeys* Army. *Cæsar* commended *Atius* souldiers; sent *Puppins* away; gave thanks to them of *Auximim*; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this service.

L. Puppins.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Amongst other things which serve to inable our iudgements, and do make men wise to good fortune: that which is gathered from similitude or likeness of qualitie, is not the vilest ground of our discourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passage, thorough the doubtfulness of great enterprises, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an ouerture from euery particular, and tarry for circumstances to accomplish all his purposes, & make no vse of instances to better his advantage, shall neuer wade faire in busines of moment, nor achieve that which he desireth. Which *Cæsar* well observed: for, vpon the accidentall discoverye of the disposition of one towne, wee therebyooke occasion to make triall how the rest stood affected: and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Pisaurum, Ital.
Plin. Azar.

Concerning these places taken by *Cæsar*, it is to be vnderstood, that *Pisaurum* is situate on the Adriatick sea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of *Vrbine*; a towne famous of old, by reason of the prodigious opening of the earth, and swallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of *Actium*, some few yeeres after it was thus taken by *Cæsar*.

Fano, Ital.

Fano was so called of a faire Temple which was there built to *Fortune*. *Tacit. Annal. 10. Exercitus Pessasiani ad Fano. Fortune iter sinit.* It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke sea, situate vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which reacheth in the sea betwene two forlands; and so maketh one of the fairest Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence it iseth that common saying, expressing the rare-esse and singularity of three things; *Fumus Petrus in Roma*, noting the beauty of *Saint Peters Church*; *Una Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanship of a steeple there; And *Unus Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour *Traian*, to giue it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of this Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones; and made it Theater wise, with descents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



His word *Decurio* hath a double vnderstanding: for, *Romulus* hauing 3000 foote, and 300 horse, diuided them into three Tribes, & euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne horsemen. Whereby *Marcellinus* concludeth, that *Decuriones*, et

Decuriones.

Centuriones a numero cui in Militia praeerat dicebantur. But *Vegetius* is more particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (saith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horse was called *Turma*, of *Ter-denos*, containing 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which sense *Cæsar* speaketh; *Haec res per fugitivos L. Aemilij Decurionis equitum Gallorum hostibus nunciatur*. But in this place it hath another signification: for, the *Romaines*, when they sent any Citizens to people and inhabit a place, they chose out euery tenth man; such as were found most able, and of best sufficiency, to make and establish a publique Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*; according as *Pomponius* and other *Ciuiilians* vnderstand it. So that these *Decuriones* were the Senate of that place.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 3. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome.

Cæsar commeth to Corfinium.

Cæsar.



These things being reported at Rome, the Citie was suddenly strooke into such a terror, that when *Lentulus* the Consul came to open the *Treasurie*, and to deliver out money to *Pompey* according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the Citie, & left the inner chamber of the *Treasurie* open. For, it was reported (although vnruly) that *Cæsar* was neere approaching, & that his *Caualrie* was hard at hand. *Marcellus*, the other Consul, together with most of the other *Magistrates*, followed after. *Pompey*, departing the day before, was gone to those legions which he had taken from *Cæsar*, & had left in *Apulia* to winter. In the meane while, the inuolment of souldiers ceased within the Citie. No place seemed secure betwene that and *Capua*. There they began first to assemble and assure themselves; impressing for souldiers, such as by *Julius* law were sent thither to inhabit. And the Fencers which were there trained and exercised by *Cæsar*, for the entertainment of the people of Rome, were by *Lentulus* brought out, set at libertie, mounted vpon horses, & commanded to follow him. But afterwards, vpon aduise of his friends (euery mans iudgement disallowing thereof) he dispersed them heere and there throughout *Campania*, for their better safetie and keeping.

Sanctiorem Ar-
rario.

Capua.

Lex Italia.

D 3.

Cæsar.

Caesar, *approching from Auximum, marched throughout all the Countrey of Picenum, and was most willingly received by all the Praefectures of those Regions, and retained with all necessities which his souldiers stood in need of; insomuch as Commissioners were sent unto him from Cingulum, a towne which Laetius had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to chuse what soeuer he commanded: whereupon he required souldiers, & they sent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtook Caesar, and with these two hee marched directly to Asculum, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, understanding of Caesars approche, left the place, and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was forsaken by the greatest part of the souldiers: and so marching with a few, happened by chance vpon Publius Rufus, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Countrey of Picenum, to confirme and settle the people. Publius, being advertised how matters went there, took the souldiers, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the adjoining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from Pompeis former inuolvements; and amongst others, entertained L. Horus, flying with sixe cohorts out of Camerinum, whereof he had, he keeping. These being all put together, made 13 cohorts, and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarus, who was at Corfinium, telling him that Caesar was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raised twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marzia, and Pelicinia, adiacent Countreys, Asculum being taken in, and Lentulus driven out, Caesar made inquirie after the souldiers that had left Lentulus, and commanded them to be inrolled for him. And after one daies abode for the provision of Corne, he marched towards Corfinium. Upon his approche thither, Domitius sent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the River, which was about three mile off. The vanngard of Caesars Armie, encountering with Domitius souldiers, drove them from the bridge, & forced them to retreat into the towne; whereby Caesar pass over his legions, made a stand before the towne, & incamped himselfe under the walles.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

It is well obserued by Guichardine, that Insolencie & Timiditie are neuer found alone, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the same subiect; for, the minde being the center of all such motions, doth according to every mans nature, give the like scope to passions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference: as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfulness in like manner enlarged to Cowardice; & will imbe mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rise in height by insuling. For which cause it is aduised by such as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of passions, or in suffering them to flie out beyond the compasse of reason, which containeth the measure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be obserued throughout the whole course of mans life. Lentulus the Consul may be an instance of this

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by shunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of these broiles, & forcing of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overruled the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Consular grautie should haue settled the distracted Comons, and made good his first resolution, his over-hastie flying out of the Citie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no safetie within those wals, nor for so small a time, as might serue to haue that the Treasurie at his heeles; and so became as abiect, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Concerning these words (*Aperto sanctiore Aerauo*) it is to be noted, that *Aerau* was their publike Treasurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne; whereof diuers men make diuers coniectures. Macrobius saith, that as long as Saturne continued in Italie, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the safest place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather, that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne reigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then known amongst them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne first taught Italie the vse and ceynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howsoever; it is manifest, that not onely the publike Treasurie was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with such bookes as were for their immeasurable greatnes, called *Libri Elephantini*, containing all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, archived by the Commanders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they ferched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise did such Embassadors as came to Rome, enregister their names, as Plutarch affirmeth.

It was called *Aerau* of *Aes*, signifying Brasse; for that the first money vied by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as Pliny witnesseth; when they began first to coyne peeces of silver marked with the letter X. whereof they took the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten asses of brasse, which before they vied for their coyne; and euery of the saide asses waied 12 ounces. Touching their order obserued in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying vp of their monneys, we must vnderstand, that as bodies politique require necessarie and ordinarie treasure to be employed in such manner, as may best concurre with the publike honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to provide against vnusall and extraordinary casualties, which are not remoued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines disposed of their treasure, and took the twentieth part of their reuert, which they called *Aurum vicefissimarium*, and referred it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay so priuiledged, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the Galles, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. Luie affirmeth as much, where he saith, *Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consilibus aurum vicefissimarium, quod in sanctiore Aerauo ad ultimos casus seruauetur, promi placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo Auri.*

T. H. E.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Such as affect offices and dignities in a State, must euer haue meanes to court *Souerainie*, according as may best lute with her *Politie*, either as she is elpoused to a Monarch, or left in trust to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very sumptuous in letting forth shewes and spectacles, of diuers sorts and fashions; and specially of Gladiators or Fencers, as best fitting a Romaine disposition, & more pleasing then others of any kind. *Equidem* (saith Tully) *exilimo, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi, quam illud Gladiatorium, neque concionis vilius, neque vero villorum Committorum.* And in another place; *Id autē spectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maximi delectatur.*

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of these Fencers, in some conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of these people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occasion to vse them in their shewes, either at their triumphall entrie into the City vpon their victories, or at the funerall solemnities of some personage of memorie; or otherwile at their feasts and iollities.

*Quin etiam exhibere viris conuivia eade
Mos olim, et misere epulis spectacula dira.*

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were sildome excused, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had slaine his companion, but stood liable to vndertake another, and so a third, vntill he had foiled fixe or leauen Combatants. And if his hap were to prouaile so often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemmisci*, and receiued of the Prætor a great knotted staffe, called *Rudis*: which he afterward carried about with him as an ensigne of libertie. These bloody spectacles continued vnto the time of Constantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewise also by Arcadius and Honorius; and vterly abolished after the raigne of Theodeick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the fashion of these shewes, read what Lipsius hath written concerning the same. That which I obferue heerein, is, the vse which the State made heereof: for, howsoeuer these fights and solemnities were sette forth for the compasing of priuate ends; yet neuertheless, the Common-weale drew benefit from the same. For, a multitude being of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way so well settled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innovations, as with publick shewes and entertainments: which are as staies to their affections, that they swaue not from the government by which they liue in ciuill consociation. So we read how the Grecians instituted, as popular entertainments, their Olympian, Nemean, Istmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting shewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and

all

Pro Regiis.

And therefore they were called, *Busirap* a bull.

Sil. Italour.

Lemmisci. *Sp. Clatun* (saith) *et donatum, cum* *ind. Horac.* The Romaine. *Inuicti* (saith) *Thuc. Galien.* *Artemingui* *lary Seruici.* *but only in* *Ciuill warres.* *et d. Sueton.* *super associam.* *die non* *l. a. c. 10* *clatun* *et* *per ciuilem* *domi* *for re dacham* *primipati.* *Tac.* *lib. 1.*

all for the satisfaction of the people. Wherein, howsoeuer the Grecians seeme more iudicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertaine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to blood and slaughter, and to make the dreadlesse in cases of horroure.

But, to leaue all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for palliue; it shall suffice to note, that these publike entertainments are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comlineffe: for, as their chiefeft end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfulness and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comicall arguments doe sympathise with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Obey great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away casualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge to free thinges from distemperature: tall men are as subiect to Feauers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easily disturbed, as the states of petty Princes.

*O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri
difficiles!*

Lucan. lib. 1.

It is easier to attaine the end of high desires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the assurance of seeking, then of possessing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnfoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much dismayed at a subiects disloyaltie, as was possible for a meane State to be amazed vpon an alarm of any danger. And that City which suffered no enemy to approche neer her confines, but in the condition of a Captiue, was not trusted as able to giue her owne people safety.

Parare, et quæ
res arduum
difficilium. Liv.
lib. 37.

*se turba per Urbem
Præcipiti lymphata gradu, velut vnica rebus
Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros,
Inconsulta ruit.*

Lucan. lib. 1.

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great command, haue great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwile as subiect to apprehensions of distrust, as those of lesser power to resist.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar goeth on with the siege of Corfinium,
and taketh it.

DOMITIUS, being thus ingaged, sent out skillfull men of the Countrey, with promise of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and prizing, that he would come and relieve him; for, Cæsar, by reason of the straightnesse of the passages, might with two Armies bee easily shut up: which opportunitie if he neglected, himselfe, with aboue 30 cohorts of souldiers, besides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and resolution; placed his Artillery on the walles; assigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promised in publique assembly of the souldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and possessions: and the likeable parts to the Centurions and Eucettes. Meane-while, it was told Cæsar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne distant seauen miles from Corfinium, were desirous to receiue his commaunds, but that they were restrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senator, & Attius Peligianus, that kept the towne with a garrison of seauen cohorts. Wherevpon, he sent thither M. Antonius with sixe cohorts of the seauenth legion: whose Ensignes were no sooner discovered by those of the towne, but the inhabitants and souldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Attius comaiued themselves ouer the wall. Attius being taken and brought to Antony, desired to be sent to Cæsar. Antonie returning the same day, brought Attius & the souldiers that were found in Sulmo, to Cæsar, whom hee took to his Army, and sent Attius away in safetie.

Cæsar, the three first daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; caused force of corra to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to stay the coming of the rest of his forces. Within the space of those three daies, the eight legion came vnto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horse, which the King of Noricum had sent vnto him. Vpon the arrival of which forces, he made second Camp on the other side of the towne, and appointed Curio to commaund it. The rest of the time was spent in compassing the towne with a rampier and with castells: the greatest part of which worke being finished, it chanced at the same time, that such as were sent to Pompey, returned. The Letters being read, Domitius dissembling the truth, gaue out in the counsell of warre, that Pompey would come speedily to succour them: and therefore wished that no man should be dismayed, but to prepare such things as were of vse for the defence of the towne, and hee himselfe conferring secretly with some of his familiar friends, consulted how he might escape away. But for much as his lookes agreed not with his words, and that his carriage seemed more to be out of and timorous then vsuall, & likewise his secret conferences,

Corfinium, vpon
there about.

Lucretius.

Sulmo.

Domitius
from his
house, he
went to
the wall
and

as also his avoiding of publique counsell and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter could bee no longer dissembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee would not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such tearmes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his aduice or consent: & therefore, if by any meanes he could, he should quit the place, and bring the forces vnto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so begird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose being knowne abroad, the souldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening for sooke their stations, and drew themselves apart, and therevpon had conference with the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were besieged by Cæsar, and the fortifications almost finished: their Generall Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) setting aside all matters whatsoeuer, was be thinking himselfe how hee might escape and flee away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne safetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; possessed themselves of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a dissension thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, vnderstanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betwene them) of Domitius purpose to flee away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and sent some to Cæsar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receiue his commaundements, and to deliuer Domitius alieue into his hands. Vpon advertisement whereof (albeit Cæsar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as he could, and to take the souldiers into his Campe, least eithr by large promises and gifts, or by enter-tayning other purposes, or otherwise through false bruits or deuised messages, their mindes might happily be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time; yet for that he feared least the night time might giue occasion to the souldiers vpo their entrance to sack & pilfer the towne) hee comending those that came vnto him, sent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles should be kept with a good guard. He himselfe disposed the souldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certaine spaces and distances, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreouer, he sent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no craptions or sallies, and that they should looke to the private slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heauie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spither spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæsar: which being graunted, he was sent out of the towne, attended with some of Domitians souldiers, who left him not vntill he came in sight of Cæsar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praised him

Lentulus
Spither.

Caesar, when he
was in the

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours receiued from Caesar, which were very great; namely, that by his meanes, he was chosen into the Colledge of Priests; that vpon the going out of his Pratorship, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his suit to be Consul, hee was much assisted by him.

Caesar, interrupting his speech, told him, that hee came not from his government to hunt any man; but to defend himselfe from the iniuries of his aduersaries; to restore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thrust out and expelled; lib the Cittie, and to put himselfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were oppress'd with the partialities of a few factious persons. Lentulus, being reassured vpon this answer, prayed leaue to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne safety, might giue hope to the rest: amongst whom, son e were so affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into some desperate course; and having obtained leaue, hee departed. Caesar, as soone as it was day, commanded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Roman Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senators, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullus Rufus, Sex. Quintilius Varus, the Treasurer, L. Rubius, besides Domitians sonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Roman Knights and Recursions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. These being all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the insolencies and iniuries of the souldiers. Moreouer, he spake a few words vnto the, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done vnto them; and so sent them all away in peace.

Domitian

The gold which Domitian had laid vp in the publike Treasury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magistrates or Bailifes of Corinium, he redelivered to Domitian; least hee should seeme more continent in taking away mens liues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publike treasure, and deliuered out by Pompey to pay souldiers. He commanded Domitians partie to be sworne his souldiers. And that day remouing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Domitian, when
he was in the

Domitian, when
he was in the

Sit is true, that a friend is not solie tied to the respects of right; but doth giue more advantage by offices of good indeuour, then by that which dutie requireth: so is it dangerous for a man to put his sickle further into a haruest, then happily may deserve thanks of the owner. Neither can it be cleared from imputation of follie, to care an other mans business, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & ditte of things, doth oftentimes so ingage both our persons and affections, either in the maine action it selfe, or in some circumstances of the same, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not fort

(with)

with his liking that is to approue them. VVhereout Domitius may be an instance; who, taking Corinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheless disauowed in his merit, and consequentlie, brought into extremitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the seruice of his Country. Such libertie hath loue-rainie, either to take or leaue, when the euent shal not rise answerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

When a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, *Redimas te capium quam queas minimo*; which is not vnderstood, that we should cleere the head, and leaue the rest of the members to misfortune: for, that were to draw a double mischief on the whole bodie. But the head is to escape with as little preiudice to the other parts, as by wisdom and vertue may be gained; and so much the rather, least in seeking to purchase salerie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole destruction vpon it selfe; as it fell out with Domitius. VVho, going about to sic out of the towne, and to leaue such forces as by his meanes, were imbarked in that cause, was iustly made the sacrifice of their peace. Sulla deserued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, being moued to escape himselfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to such fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage should put vpon them; answered, *Etiamsi certa pestis adestet, mansurum potius, quam proditiis quos ducebat, turpi fuga, incerta ac forsitan paulo post morbo interitura vita pareceret*. And therefore, if a Commander shall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne safetie, the issue will bring out either his dishonour, or his confusion.

Salus, de bello
Iugurth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Such as vnder take great designses, doe likewise proiect the meanes of archieuing the same, & doe propound vnto themselves such principles to be obserued, as they take to be speciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at: from which grounds they sildome or neuer swaue. As appeareth by this of Caesar; who ayming at the souerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way so direct to leade him thereto, as to cline vp by the steps of Mildnes, and to make his Aduersaries debtors to his clemency, he left aside his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbear to gaine a towne of great importance, with that speed which occasio & opportunitie did afford him, and to take the troopes into the Campe, for the prevention of such chanches and changes, as doe happen in a small moment of time; least his souldiers entering into the towne, alter the shutting of the cue-nig, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

E.

It

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.



Pon occasion of Cæsars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores*, (*senatorumque filios, Equitesque Romanos*, it shal not seeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of state whereof the Romaine people consisted. For the better clearing whereof, it is to be vnderstood, that by that notable transaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both those Nations should dwell together at Romulus towne, which after his name, should bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, should bee named *Quirites*, after the name of Tattius Cittie. Howbeit, speciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, *Rammenses*; those that came with Tatius, *Tattenses*; and the third Tribe *Lucerences*, of *Lucius*, a Groue: forasmuch as they being neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuertheless met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly assemblies were made to offer sacrifice, and to performe their heathenish solemnities.

Each of these Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten Curia; and so made the number of 30 Curia. And out of each of these Curia, he chose 3 persons, such as by their presence and sufficiency, seemed fittest, and most woorthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of euery Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne choosing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he established as his Council or Senate: by whose aduise he resolved of all matters of consequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dionisius Halicarnassicus noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, they were seldome assembled but to vnderstand the Kings pleasure: and had no other preeminence in the Common-weale, sauing they were the first that did knowe what was purposed. Howsoever; they were stiled by the name of *Senatores*, *quasi seniores*, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counsell: and in the same sense they were called *Patres*.

The Senate being thus established, Romulus selected out of euery of those Curia ten young men, and so made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his person: who for their readinesse and nimblenesse were called *Celeres*, all mounted on horsebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equestris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to supply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The rest, that were not of these two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome consisted of three estates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Aufonius;

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senat.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priscus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentiu*. And Brutus hauing

Plutarch, in vita Romuli.

Senatos.

Lib. 2.

Celeres or Equites; ordo Equestris.

Plebs or populus.

Senatores minorum Gentium.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, made the vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conscripti*. Neither were they at all times limited in that number: for, the seditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Iulius Cæsar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) *Senatorem affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erat enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.*

Concerning a competence of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obserue, that in the raigne of Seruius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand asses (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the riches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thousand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum sensum ampliavit, ac pro ælingentorum millia summa duodecies H-S taxauit, suppleuitque non habentibus*. The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score, or there abouts.

This Corinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and stood in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people assembled when they consulted of warre against the Romaines, for their right of Burghelshippe, or freedom of the Cittie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellum sociale, Marsum, and Italicum*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciently stood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

Patres conscripti.

Suetonius, 35.

Suetonius, 43.

Corinium. Strabo, lib. 6.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundisium: Cæsar maketh meanes to treat with him.

Cæsar.



Pompey, vnderstanding of these things which had past at Corinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canusium, and from thence to Brundisium; causing all the power hee could to be raised by new musters and inolements, arming shepheardes and slanes, and mounting them on horsebackes, of which he made some 300 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prator, fled from Alba with sixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prator, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who deserying a farre off the Causitie of Cæsar, commaunded by Binus Curius, forsaking the Prator, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn. Magnus of Cremona, master of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæsar: whom he sent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; For-

Neceum.

as much as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to seek him at Brundisium; for, it much imported the Common-weale, and euery mans safety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could things bee so well handled, vpon so great a distance of way, where the articles of treatie must be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This message being first given, he came to Brundisium with sixe legions, foure legions of old souldiers, and the other raised by new inrolments, or made up as he came along the Countrey: for he had presently dispatched Domitians cohorts from Carpinum into Sicily. At his coming, he found the Consuls gone over to Dyrrachium, with the greatest part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brundisium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainly bee informed, whither he remained at Brundisium to make good the towne, whereby he might the easier be master of the Adriatick sea, and command both the vpper parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and so to keepe the warre on foote on the one side and on the other; or whether he staid there for want of shipping. Howsoever, he would not endure, that Pompey should thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italy; and therefore resolved to stop vp the mouth of the Hauens, & to take away the vsc thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauens was narrowest, hee raised great mounts of earth on either side nere unto the shore; for, there the Sea was shallow: but going further into the deepe, where no such mounts could be raised, hee placed double flottes of wood, right against the same mounts, of thirtie foote square; and at the corners cast out foure Aukers to assest them. These flottes being thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the same scantling, and covered them with broun and earth, to the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each side, with hurdles and gabions; and on euery fourth flotte, made a towre of two stories high, the better to defend them from violence of shipping, and from burning.

Against this worke, Pompey sent out great ships of burthen, which he found in the Hauens, armed with towres of three stories high, full of munition, & all sort of weapons, to hinder and disturbe the same. So that euery day they fought a farre off each with other, with slings, arrowes, and other casting weapons. Which business Caesar so carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happily it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had sent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie so often attempted, did hinder much his designs: yet hee thought it fitte by all means to persueue therein: and therefore sent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and nere allied to Scribonius Libo, to speake with him, commanded him to perswade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Caesar himselfe might speake with Pompey. It might be, that therevpon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes vpon equall conditions: the greatest part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his intercession the war might take an end.

Libo, hauing heard Caninius, went straight to Pompey; and within awhile returning,

Caesar being
Pompey at
Brundisium,
the
Consuls
were
gone
to
Dyrrachium.

Pompey sent
Caninius
Renilus
to
speake
with
Caesar.

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Wherevpon, Caesar resolved to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His accident of taking Cn. Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vie in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howlouer there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfectus Fabrum*, or Maister of the workes in any of Caesars Armes. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of prouisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to euery legion shold belong Carpenters, Bricklayers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skillfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, motions, corselets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatlouer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the command of them, was called *Præfectus Fabrum*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was given by the Generall; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulship hee had bestowed vpon him the place of *Præfectus Fabrum*. And albeit Caesar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimeteres as will not be forgotten:

*Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, et vorax et tiellus,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habeat et vltima Britannia?*

Of which Mamurra, Plinius thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, writeth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, & Maister of the workes vnder Caesar, in Gallia, was the first that covered all the wallies of his house, which he built in Mount Caius, with leaues of Marble. Neither let any man disdain the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; whose house was farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the saide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome

Præfectus Fabrum.

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

Lib. 36. cap. 6.

Prof. ad. Attu.
lib. 9. Epist. 3.

Od. 6. Hæmor.
23.

that made the pillars of his noue of solide Marble, even hewen out of the quarries of Caristus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like course in spending; and howeouer such commings in may be close and secret, yet the issuings out will proclaim it in protule and laushing manner: and therefore, such as command in these places, and haue such meanes to enrich themselves, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæsar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of some note. *Cn. Magium, Pompei Præfectum deprehendi scilicet, iuxta institutum sum, et cum statim missum feci: iam duo Præfecti fabrum, in meam potestatem venerant, et à me missi sunt.* Concerning the vse of these manuell Artes, and the prerogative they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without these, no Citie can conueniently be built, fortified, or furnished with Armes. And therevpon such Artizans, haue alwaies challenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vltiles scorned not *sefabrum proferri.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



H *Maxime proprium* of warre, is opposition; and that vniuersall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no sympathizing condition betwene two enimie Armies, otherwise then by mutuall exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole course of their intendements; as may be here obserued vpon Cæsars attiuall at Brundisium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Consuls, and not certainly informed of the reason of his stay; least he should think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæsar went about to thrust him out headlong: or otherwise, if his purpose were to follow after the Consuls to Dyrrachium, Cæsars designe then was to shut him in, and so to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which souldiers are directed in their achievements.

Epistola que
Cum Post. 2. fore
int. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Brundisium dicit
cont. Epist.

Concerning the site of Brundisium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiousness of the Haven, and the vsuall port where the Romans tooke shipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles distant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne standeth vpon a Langet of earth, extended into the Haven Peninsule-like from the maine land, resembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called *Brun. d. sium*, of *ægeria*, which signifieth a Stagge: which Langet hath many crooked guts, or inlets of the Sea, capable of great shipping; besides the two maine Ports on either side of the towne, which with the rest of the Haven, make the safest and fairest roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Haven where Cæsar made his flottes, is very straight; and opposite therevnto, some three miles distant into the Sea, standeth a small Island, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to besiege Brundisium, it was requisite to take away the vse and benefit of the Haven: which Cæsar attempted with such rare and artificiall works (of mounts where the Sea was shallowe, and of flottes where the

water

... upon the first

... of the ... Out of which may be ... the course in frending ... yet the illings out ... had neede ... the taking of this ... the Prefect's ... Concerning the vie of ... States it is ... be built, fortified, ... have always chalen ... that Vlt

BRUNSVIC

... opposition; and that vniuersall, ... for, there is no sym- ... then by ... the whole course of ... at Brundis ... after the departure of the Con- ... least he should think ... to thrust him on head ... after the Cent's to Pyrra ... to have followed the ... their achievements, ... both ever been famous for the ... the Romaines tooke ... danger of earth, ... the name of Brunsvic, resembling the ... called Brunsvic, of ... crook, signs, or miles of ... the two name Ports on either ... the Haren, where Caesar made ... three miles distant ... the violence and rage of the ... to take any the vic ... with such care and artifice ... where the water



water was deepe; and thole made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discern it, by the description, to bee a Maister-piece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IT is truly said of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderstood, when he bought it of the Romaines for twelue thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: Esteeming it as the foueraigne happinesse of mans fortune; and an extraordinary effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiaall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreeing concord, and the fete of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that such as are instruments of so great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confusion, haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæsar, perswading Libo to negotiate a cessation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disposition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeavour which brought backe peace into the Empire.

Lib. 8.
Dec. 4.

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundisium, and shippeth himselfe for Greece.



HE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour bestowed upon it; the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundisium: and thereupon, Pompey beganne to fit himselfe for a departure; Being induced thereunto, either by the workes which Cæsar had begunne, or by a resolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Cæsars prosecution (least upon his issuing out, the souldiers should enter the towne) he mured up the gates, and stoppt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies, & therein stuck sharp piles & stakes; and covering the same with slight hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went vnto the trauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge sharpe Piles.

Cæsar.

These things beeing thus prepared, he commanded the souldiers to get a ship-board, without noise or tumult: and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

warning signe, when the rest of the souldiers were all shipped; appointing Gallies to take them in, at an easie and safe place. The inhabitants of Brundisium, oppressed with the iniuries and continuell of Pompeys souldiers, did favour Casars partie; and vnderstanding of this departwe, whilst they were running vp and downe, and busied about getting aboard, gave notice thereof from the tops of their houses. Which beeing perceiued, Casar (not to omit any opportunitie of atchieuing his purpose) commanded ladders to bee prepared, and the souldiers to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the souldiers keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called fro their stations, and by knowne passages repaired to the shippes. Casars souldiers with ladders got vpon the wall: but beeing admonished by them of Brundisium, to take heed of the blind ditch, they stood still. At last, they were brought a great compasse about, and so came to the thauen; and with skiffes and boates, seized two ships with souldiers, which stuck by chance vpon the Mounts which Casar had made.

L. 6. m. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

OBSERVATIONS.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

Pompey much as this manner of Pompeys departure from Brundisium, and the slight he vied to imbarke himselfe and his Armie without danger of Casars entering the towne, is commended for one of the best stratagems of warre that euer he vied; Let vs a little consider the parts therof, which present theselues of two sorts: the one consiſting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Casars entrance, if happelic hee should haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie conuaince of his men aboard, without noise or tumult; & the semblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three sorts. For, first hee mured and stopped vp the ends and entrancess of streets and lanes, which might giue access to a pursuing enemy. And to that end also, hee sunk ditches, or trenches, crosse the waies and passages: whiche hee stuck full of sharp stakes and Galthropes, and covered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemy might not elpy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a strong Palizado of huge sharp piles: And so vied both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to auoid the danger which might haue fallen vpon him, if Casar happely had found meanes to attache them, as they were incombred in getting to their ships, and disposing themselves to flee away. Which beeing an occasion that might haue giuen him great aduantage, was in this manner carefullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brundisium, is censured but for a faultie resolution handsonlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie calling it a Themistoclean policie, to perswade his partieto forsake their Countrey, and to leaue the best of their pleasures, and the weakest of each sexe, to such miserie and desolation, as mooued pittie in those that considered but the condition of the dogges, and brute beastes;

Cicero, Epist. ad Att. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

beastes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themistocles perswaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Countrey, and betake themselves wholly to sea, to fight against Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar dispatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie.
Cato endeouour to keepe Sicily for Pompey.



Cæsar.

Albeit Casar well knew, that it much imported a speedy end of the busines, to get shippes and passe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ioine himselfe with the forces of the transmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the shipping he could get, and thereby left him for the present no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended shipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troublesome passage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Prouinces of Spaine, should be settled and assured; (one of them being deepe lie ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits;) or that they should haue time to raise new troopes, especially of horse; or that Gallia or Italie should be solicited or wrought from him in his absence: And therefore for the present, resolved to desist from making any further pursue after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duumviri of all the Municipall townes, to provide shipping, and send it to Brundisium. He sent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Propagator, into Sicily with three legions; commanding him, after he had possessed Sicily, to transport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta gouerned Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero should by lotte haue held Affrica.

Dutiesse.

The Caralitani, vnderstanding that Valerius was to be sent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thrust Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amused therat, and perceiuing withall, that the whole Prouince gave consent vnto it, fled presently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and prosecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, murthered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horse and foote from the townes in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almost accomplished, vnderstanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betrayed by Pompey; who, without any providence or preparation, had ingaged himselfe in an vnecessary warre: and yet beeing deman-

ded

ded by himselfe, and the rest in the Senate, answered confidently, that hee was provided of all necessaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publicly complained, fled out of the Province. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, void of government, and there brought their Armies.

Tabero, arriving in Africa, found Atius Varus commanding the Province: who (as wee have formerly shewed) having left his cohorts at Auximium, fled forth-with into Africa; and of his owne authoritie, possessed himselfe of the Province, which he found without a Governour. He got together by new imrolments, two compleat legions, which hee raised by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reason he had governed that Province as Praetor some few yeeres before. Tabero, arriving with his fleet at Vrica, was by Vicia kept out of the towne and the Haven; neither would hee suffer him to set his (some others, which was sicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Plutarch in the
life of Pompey

In the cariage whereof, we may obſerue, that as vpon the firſt breaking out of theſe troubles, they ſcambled for the townes of Italie, & ſought to ſtrengthen their parties, by ſuch as had no voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but only inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; ſo now being parted alunder, and the contagion of this intestine euill ſpread abroad, and grown to more ripeſſe, they made like halfe to falten vpon the remoter Prouinces, wherein Caesar had the better portion. For, in his thare, were contained Italia, Gallia, Bortania, Hiſpania, Sicilia; which being the prime Countreys of Europe, were conſequently the flower of that Empire, for that Europe hath cuer been taken for the principall and chiefeſt part of the world.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, we may obserue, in Caro, the effects of a Stoicall or formal spirit, which are more valuable in the ensignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, howsoever hee made them of bestirring himselfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Prouince, commanding more to be built, raising new troopes of horse & foote, and prosecuting his commands with purpose of an exact account; yet in the end, vnderstanding of Curio his comming, spent his time in complaining of his friends, and laying the cause of those garbales vpon him, whom by election and consent he had formerly set vp, to make head against such, as otherwise may be supposed would haue contained themselves in a better measure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.

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He

He forgot not likewise to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he desired, and would not be granted. In regard whereof, hee prayed and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the government thereof. But, if they should vpon any doubt or mistrust, refuse to ioyne with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commissioners be sent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee respect what Pompey a little before had saide in the Senate (That to whomsoever Embassadors were sent, to such seemed to be ascribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, such as sent the, manifested an apprehension of feare); for, these were arguments of pusillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; so would hee in like manner, endeavour to excell him in iustice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleased that Embassadors should be sent: but there was no man found that would go; euery man refusing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had saide in the Senate, That hee would hold him that staid at Rome, in the same condition with them that were in Caesars Campe. So that three daies were spent in debate and excuses; L. Metellus, Tribune of the people, being drawne by Caesars aduersaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Caesar should propound vnto them.

L. Metellus.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

First, wee may obserue, how irksome it is to humane nature, for him that hath tasted the sweetnesse of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of command, and againe to inrolle his name in the list of common dutie; descending from the throne of souerainie, to the condition of obedience, & to lose his eminencie in respectles equalitie: especially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that fasteneth on vs with a stronger hold, then any other power; being lesse capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of present and future ages. Whereby, men growe desperately jealous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themselves of that care, although they haue attained to the full time of their deliuerance: but to be supplanted in the midst of so glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the seat of Magistracie, by an abortiue miscarriage, is able to intage an ambitious spirit, so farre beyond the bounds of modestie, that it will not spare any endeavour, to confound the greatest Empire, with irrecoverable calamities.

Felicitate et
moderatione di-
uiduum, Cato-
berni.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Secondly, wee may obserue the disposition of those Senators, that by their staying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there vpon, refused either to take Caesars commaundes, or to present themselves to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reasons why the Senators would vndertake no such matter of Commission as was required by Caesar. The first is this which is heere expressed; euery man fearing the displeasure of Pompey, who at his departure from Rome, had protested to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Caesar censured their forbearance with better advantage to himselfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becoming his followers. The other reason which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Caesars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perswaded that his end was a cessation of Armes, or such a peace with Pompey as should haue kept on foot their ancient libertie; but sought rather pretexes of good meaning, to colour his designe of making Rome his seruant. Howsoever; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betwene him and Metellus, more then hee himselfe speaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treasure, hee was there stoutly resisted by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alleadging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in such times of extremitie as were therein exprested.

To which, Caesar answered; That those Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other course of proceeding. Neuertheless, Metellus would not suffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Caesar aduised him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was easier for him to dispatch him then to speake it: and so entered and caried away the Treasure. Vwhere vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Censum et patrimonium populi Romani, ante rapuit quam Imperium.*

And Appian, deriding the scrupulositie of the auncient Romaines, that would not touch that Treasure but in extremitie of warre against the Celtes or Galles, saith; that Caesar might lawfully take it, for that hee had vanquished and subdued the Galles; vwhereby the Romaines had no further cause to feare them.

Dominate
Pompeius pro la-
sistius habita-
tione qui repub-
desensuisset
medios et ur-
vires partis, su-
orum filii neme-
ritus, futuros pro-
nunciavit. Sine
tunc m. 75.
Ereos, 10. R.
st. ad Atticum.
Plutarch.
Lucan.
Appian.
Florus.

Non nisi per no-
strum volu per-
cussu patrum
compta latius
nullique ferre
ine sanguine sa-
ros, sparsas, rap-
torum, Intan-
tibz.
Dignitate Cesa-
ris ira, nullus
onus facit.
idem eodem.

F 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia,
and treateth with the Mar-
sellians.



Cæsar, perceiuing their resolution, after hee had spent there some few daies (that he might not lose any more time, and leaue those things undone which he purposely intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arrivall there, hee understood that Pompey had sent into Spaine Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæsar had a little before taken at Corfinium and dismissed him: and that Domitius likewise was gone to take Marselleis, with eight Gallies, which he set out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with slaves, men enfranchised, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as messengers before, certaine young noble men of Marselleis, with whom Pompey vpon his departure from the City had earnestly dealt, that Cæsars new favours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done unto them. Those of Marselleis hauing received this message, shut their gates against Cæsar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of ancient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hills aboue Marselleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions: & Castles into the towne; set up offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their nauie, and their gates.

Cæsar called out vnto him some fiftene of the chiefe men of Marselleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who should rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themselves to the will of any one man: not omitting such other persuasions as hee thought pertinent to a sound resolution. These men reported at Marselleis what Cæsar had deliuered, and by the common consent of the towne, returned this answer, That they understood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to indee, or could they discern which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of these two factions, were Pompey and Cæsar, both speciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenues of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volci, Arecomici, and the Heluy: The other, hauing conquered and subdued Gallias, gave it vnto them; whereby their tributarie incomes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their favours, so would they carie to both an equall respect, not ayding either of them against the other, or receiving them within their gates.

Whilest these things were in handling, Domitius arrived at Marselleis with his shipping; and being receiued in, was made Governour of the Cittie,

By this Cæsar
is vnderstood
some place
near to Mar-
cellus.

and had the whole direction of the warre committed vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was sent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other shippes. What Corne soeuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reseruing the surplus of victuall and prouision, for a sledge, as occasion should require.

Cæsar, prouoked with these iniuries, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and manteles ready for an assault, and to builde twelue new Galleis at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the sledge.

OBSERVATION.

From the Marsellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, howsoeuer they were able to discern the truth, and to giue an answer to Cæsar, well-befitting the same, and opinion of their literature and knowledge (being an Academicke little inferior to the best, and in latter times more frequented by the Romaines, for the studie of Oratorie and Philology, then Athens, or any other such chiefe seat of the Muses); yet in their actions they disauowed all: taking vpon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to shew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their error the more appeared, in that the partie grieved was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by forcing them, and then by pardoning their rashness. And yet some VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to consist in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Gallies: for, hauing newes thereof, and vnderstanding of the composition which was to be made to raise the sledge from the Capitoll, they provided all the gold & siluer they could get, & sent it to Rome for that seruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priuileges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elsewhere in the Empire. Howsoeuer, their hap being to respect more an exact obseruance of what had passed, then the farall succeeding course of things, drew vpon them a sharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by submitting themselves to his mercy whom they had reiected. And thus wee see verified that of the Poet;

Quicquid delirant Reges plebsuntur Achini.

VVhich implieth also how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their seruice is of great importance to government, when it is attended with well qualified affections; so are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant

F 3.

passions:

Horace.

Acquid duum
victissimum post
M. C. C. C. C. C.
victissimum post
M. C. C. C. C.
victissimum post
M. C. C. C. C.

Quicquid delirant
Reges plebsuntur
Achini. Lucan. 3.

patitions: especially, considering the meanes they haue, either to misemploy the power of the State, or to giue way to such inconveniences, as may necessarily perturb all things but the ends they aime at: besides the aptnesse of a high spirit, not to doubt the truth of that saying which is attributed to Cæsar, *Stoio-landum est ius, regnandi gratia violandum est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar hasteth into Spaine.



While these things were prepared and put in order, he sent C. Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commanding him with all speed and diligence to take the passage of the Pyrenean hills, which were kept at that time with the forces of L. Afranius: and gave order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haste, put the Garizon from the passage, and by great journeys marched towards Afranius' Armie.

Vpon the arrivall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was sent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreus, and Varro, Pompeys Legates (of whom the one gouerned the neerer Province of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * sorrest of Castile, to the river * Aua, with two legions; and the third commaunded the Vescōnes and Lusitania, with the like number of legions) did so dispose and diuide their charges, that Petreus was appointed to bring his legions out of Lusitania, through the territories of the Vescōnes, and ioine himselfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, should keepe the further Province of Spaine. Which being so resolved & determined, Petreus hauing commaunded the Lusitanians to leuie horsemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewise hauing made the like leuie, in the territories of the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreus came speedily through the Vescōnes to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall consent, resolved to keep the warre on foote neere about Herda.

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath beene shewed) three legions, besides Targettiers of the neerer Province, & Buckler-bearers of the further Province, some 80 cohorts, and of both Provinces about 5000 horse. Cæsar had sent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with sixe thousand Auxiliarie forces, and three thousand horse, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Gallies at his request furnished him with the like number; besides the noblest and valiantest amongst them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To these were added the better sort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers vpon the Province in Gallia. Hee was aduertised that

Pompey

Afranius.

Petreus.

Varro.

* Salusce, & f. a.

* f. a.

* Gualduna,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

Interpretatio,

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Interpretatio,

Observations vpon the first

...considering the means they haue, either to employ
...or to giue way to such inconveniences, as may neede
...But the ends they aime at, besides the apriuels of a high
...the worth of that saying which is attributed to Caesar, *Si uia
...non est, erit uiolanda est.*

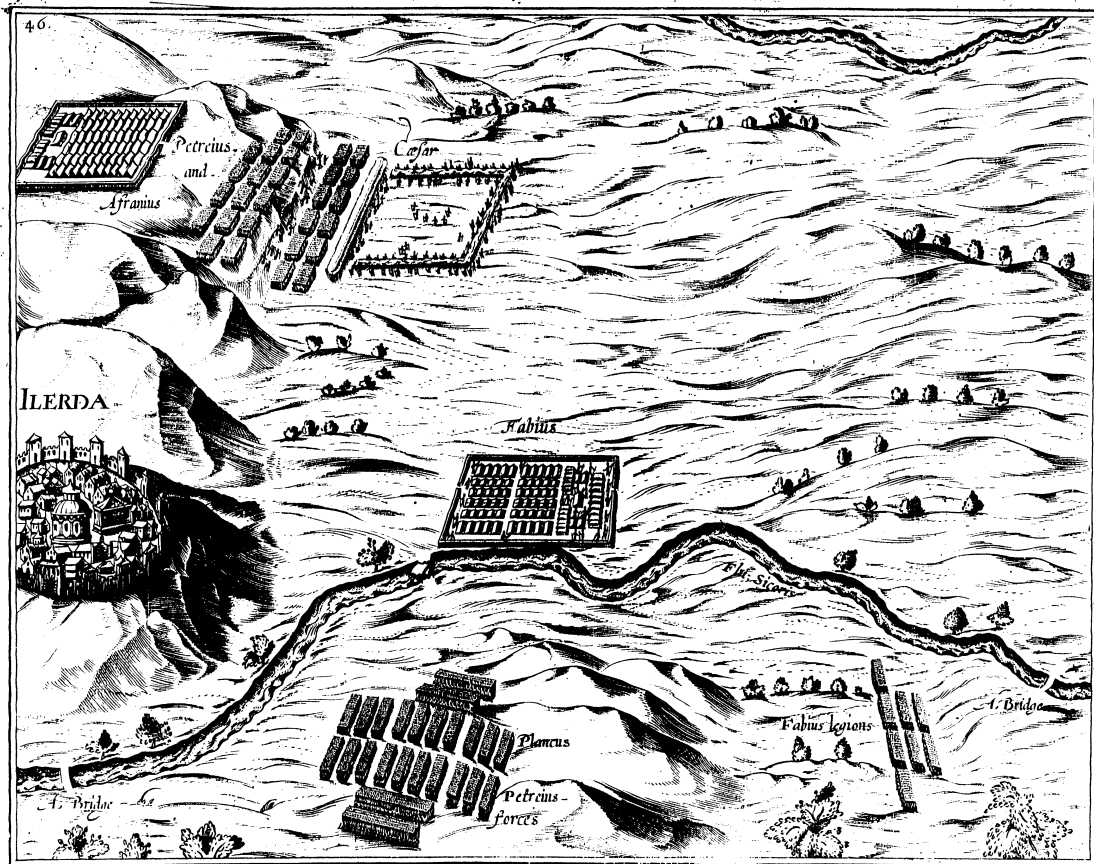
CHAP. XIII.

Caesar hasteth into Spaine.

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...were kept at that time with the forces of L. Afrani-
...us; for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow af-
...ter him, as he should direct, made haste, put the Garizon from the
...of the winter, and marched towards Afranius Army.

...of Fabullus Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was sent by
...of Spaine, Afranius, Petreus and Varro, Pompeys Legates (of whom
...of the overrall Province of Spaine with three legions, the other,
...from the * Forrest of Calde, to the river * Ana, with two legi-
...and commanded the Vettones and Lusitania, with the like num-
...to dispose and divide their charges, that Petreus was appoint-
...of Lusitania, through the territories of the Vettones,
...with Afranius; and that Varro, with his power, should keepe
...of Spaine. Which being resolved & determined, Petreus
...Lusitania to leue horsemen, and other Auxili-
...Afranius likewise having made the like leue, in the territories
...of the Cantabres, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering
...Petreus came speedily through the Vettones to Afranius; and
...of the Province of the place, by mutual consent, resolved to keepe the
...about Ilerda.

...Afranius (as formerly hath been shewed) three legions, be-
...of the overrall Province, & druckers-beavers of the further Pro-
...ports, and at both Provinces about 5000 horse. Caesar had sent
...the, accompanied onely with six thousand Auxiliary forces,
...and those which had been with him in the former warres. And
...request furnished him with the like number; besides the noblest
...of them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow
...to these were added the better sort of the Aquitani, and
...upon the Province in Gallia, hee was advertised that
...Pompey



Pompey was on his iourney coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and there upon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, and came it to his Armie; wherby he gained two points: for, first he engaged the Captaines by that lone to indour his good successe; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by larges and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Cities neere about him: which he labored as wel by Letters as Messengers. & had already made two bridges ouer the riner * Sicoris, distant one from another about foure miles, and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had spent all that was to be found on this side the riner. The same thing, and upon the same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Cavalry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had passed the riner, the cariage & the Canatry following after, upon a sudden (by the ouerpestering of horses, and swelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Canatry was seclued & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiuing, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riner; Afranius, presently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Canatry, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Upon whose approche, L. Plancus that commanded the legions, being constrained by necessity, tooke the upper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to stand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circūuented by the horsemen. And although the number were very farre vnequall, yet hee valiantly withstood very violent charges of the enemy. The Canatry beeing thus engaged, the Ensignes of two legions were desired as far off, which Fabius had sent by way of the further bridge, to second these other two; suspecting that which was come to passe, that the Commanders of the aduerser Army, would take the occasion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Upon whose approche, the battell ceased; and the legions on either side were brought backe into their Campes.

*Hesperios inter,
Sicoris non vlti-
ma Amnis,
Saxens ingenti
quem pons An-
tibetis arcu,
Hibernus pressu-
rit aquas.
Lucan. lib.*

*Plancus fuit
Plautius, a Pla-
utius p. domi,
sphyliotod.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



THE first obseruation may be taken, from this designe of Cæsars upon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the gouernment and command of Pompey; The standing or falling whercof, did much import the successe of that warre: for which respect it was, that when Cæsar could not buckle with the person of his enemy, hee vsed all meanes to beat downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his elence and beeing, and most concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him those Provinces, which the State had commended to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of such, whom he might in a fort challenge for his owne people; what assurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what could hee else where expect of that which these refused him?

The

Lib. Ethic. 4.

The excellencie of a Generall, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Aristotle, inabling him to discern, *quid primum*, or what is most materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conueniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and so consequentie to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

Petorius and
Afranius had
50000 men at
their abouths.
Caesar 55000.

For the effectually prosecuting of which designe, let vs take a short view of their forces on each side, according as we find them mustered in this chapter; that by the inequality of their troopes, we may iudge of the want or sufficiency of their directions. Afranius, as it is said in the storie, had three legions, and Petorius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, supplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and so in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the vsuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horse; which came to seauentie thousand men, or thereabouts. To confront so great an enemy, Caesar had five legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Gallies, and peraduenture 1000 Eucati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did rise to 35000, or 40000 men at the most. Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of strength, and yet failing in correspondence of successe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in question, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Besides, the inequality of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly deuoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no small consequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, absolute in fauouring the enemy and confronting his purposes, had need of more forces then the aduersie partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to prevent such mischises as might grow by that advantage, fought all meanes to draw some of the townes to his faction; and to make himselfe friends for his better support and securitie, according to that which was said of old; That warre cannot be made without some peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Rabbi saith,
that the Treas-
ure which is
good to his
Debtors.

Secondly, wee may obserue the meanes he vsed, to secure himselfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the soldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a speciall Tie of their affections to his seruice; forasmuch as no man witheth ill to him, by whose welfare and prosperitie he hopeth to thrive; for so (wounding himselfe thogh another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather desireth such an accomplishment of his hopes, as may make himselfe partaker thereof. And on the other side, the largesse he made vnto the souldiers, did so oblige their indeuour to his purposes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Lælius had promised in his owne person, on the behalfe

Lælius.

behalfe of the rest.

*Pectore si fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viscera parui
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra.*

Lucan. li. x.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, let vs consider the effects of diligence and prouident foresight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonorable overthrow; as may be learned from two circumstances in Fabius directions. First, in that he trusted not to one passage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two seuerall bridges, as well for the cōueniencie as the better securitie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occasion which the enemy might take by the breaking of the bridge, to distresse the legions on the other side of the water, hee presently sent out succours to prevent such a casualtie: which albeit might seeme to haue proceeded out of curious suspition, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requisite and expedient. VVhich may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of possibilities; and to prevent contingencies, with the certaintie of industrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we most expect.

Eni antro non
fuit mos.

Quicquid feri
possi, quod iu-
tatum cogite-
mus. Seneca.
Epist. 24.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Concerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at first diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Vter and the Inner; and were separated alunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence also they were called *Cis Iberum*, et *ultra Iberum*. The Neerer Prouince, being the lesser, continued without alteration during the Romaines gouernment, and was sometimes called *Tarraconensis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the same. But the Further, in procelle of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Lusitania*: and so the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was first entered by the Romaines, by occasion of the notable siege of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, hauing subdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it gouerned by Proconsuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Stertinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprætors, and sometimes by Prætors, according as the Empire came to be enlarged; and had thereby many gouernments, for the preferment of such as had supplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuerthelesse, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had alwaies Consularie power; as, in the warre against Scetorius, *Quintus Metellus*, Proconsull, et *Cn. Pompeius*, *Questor*, cum *Consulari potestate missi* sunt: And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching the

Spaine.
Cterior, et P-
terior.
Exterior, et
Interior. lib. 3.

Anno 8 C. 555.

Linie.

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo likeneth it to an Oxe hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which rise in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as some thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deslowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

*Pyrene celsa nimboſi verticis arce
Diuiſus Celtis, late proſpectat Iberos;
Atque aeterna tenet magnis diſtortis terris
Hoſpitis Alcida crimen: qui ſorte laborum
Gerionis petere cum longa tricornis arma
Poſſeſſus, Bacebo, ſana Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam forma, ſine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.*

Leſetumque tenent Montes per ſecula nomen.

*Lib. 5.
Iulius de Mi-
nibus anſulta-
tibus.*

But according to the opinion more generally received, of the Greeke word *Pyres* for that Shepheards and Heardsmen let them once on fire, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus. And Aristotle; in *Iberia* (inquit) *combustis aliquando paſtoribus Sylvis, calenteque ignibus terra, manifestum argentum defluxisse: cumque postmodum terrae motus supervenisset, eruptis hiatis, magnam copiam argenti collectam; atque inde Maſſiliensibus proventus non vulgares obtigisse.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appeare by diuers Elogies: amongst which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a pensioner to the Kingdome.

*Quid dignum memorare tuis Hispania terris
Vox humana valet? primo lanat aequore solem
India: tu scissor, exacta luce, ingales
Poluis, inque tuo respirant sidera fluctu.
Dices equis, frugum facilis, pretiosa metallis,
Principibus fecunda pign.*

CHAP. XV.

Caesar, comming to his Armie, aduauceeth forward, and incampeth neere vnto the Enemy.

Caesar.

Vithin two dayes after, Caesar came into the Campe with nine hundred horse, which he had kept with him for a convoy. The bridge broken by the tempest, was almost reedified; and that which remained undone, he commanded to be finished in the night. And hauing scene the nature and situation of the place, he left sixe cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the carriages of the Armie. And the next day, putting all

all his forces into a trape battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there standing awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a stand in the midst of the hill, vnder his Campe. Caesar, perceiuing that Afranius at that time was not disposed to fight, determined to incampe himselfe some 400 paces from the foot of the hill. And least the souldiers should be interrupted in their workes, by the sudden assaults and incursions of the enemy, he forbade them to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, which must necessarily be discovered and scene as farre off; but caused a ditch to be made of fiftene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next vnto the Enemy. The first and second battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them vnscene, before it was vnderstood by Afranius that Caesar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finished, he drew his legions within the ditch, and so stood in Armes all night.

Prono tum Caesar Olympo, in noctem subita circumdedit agmina hostis, dum prima praefractus acies, hostesque scissile. Lucil.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And so far as the matter to make the Rampire was to be fetched farre off, he kept the like course for the finishing of the rest; allotting each side of the Campe, to be fortified by a severall legion, with a ditch to be sunk about, of the same cantling: and in the meane time, made the other legions to stand ready in Armes against the enemy.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuse the souldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Caesar intermitted not the worke, trusting to 111 legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemy not making any long stay, or aduancing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Caesar fortified his Campe with a Rampire; and commanded the rest of the cohorts and the carriages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought vnto him.

OBSERVATION.

IT may be obserued for Caesars custome throughout the whole course of his warres, to approche as neere the enemy as conveniently he could; that so he might the better obserue his passages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduertyary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexterity, and superlative knowledge in the vse of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions. whereby he was able, not onely to improve his owne designses to the utmost of an honourable successe, but to returne the digrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the same. For, otherwise, his accosting so neere an enemy, might haue turned to his owne losse; as beeing full of hazard, & subiect to more casualties then hee that standeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that desireth to sit neere his aduertyary, must be exceeding circumspect, and sure of some aduantage, either from

Lib. 1. cap. 5.

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or elie out of his owne vertue, or by some other means, to ouer-sway the inconueniences which attend such engagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus obserueth hence, touching the straight, wher-into Cæsar was fallen; being either to giue battell, which the enemy refused: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retire but with danger. Vwhereupon, a little before night hee stole the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himselfe within the same, stood in Armes all night, for his better safetie.

The vse of such ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extremities: and were so frequent vpon all occasions with the Romaines, that he that shall deny them to be good ditchers, shall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vse of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, being forced by them of Peloponessus, into a place that had but two out-leets of escape, sunke a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the passages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemy) and let his souldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponessians, thinking hee could no way escape by the passage where the trench was cut, applied themselves whollie to the other place, where the souldiers made shew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly provided) hee escaped ouer the ditch without resistance. Sometimes they added other helpees to these trenches, especially when they fought handsome meanes to get themselves away: wherof Sertorius may be an instance. VVho, hauing the enemy pressing him in the reare, and being to passe a Riuer, drew a ditch and a rampire at his backe, in the fashion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combustible matters; and so setting it on fire, kept off the enemy, and passed with ease ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculesius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing rashly entered with a small power into a long and narrow passage, between two hills; & finding himselfe pursued by great forces of the enemy, sunke a crosse trench betweene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, set it on fire, & so cut off the enemy.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsars attempt to possesse himselfe of a small hill:

what disadvantage he ran into, by missing of his purpose; what meanes he vsed to recover himselfe.



Betweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred paces; in the midst whereof stood a little Mole, rising higher then the rest: which if Cæsar could get and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from such victuals and provisions as were brought

brought to the towne: vwhereupon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe, and hauing put them into order of battell, hee commanded the Antesignani of one legion, to runne before and possesse the place. Which being perceiued, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but forasmuch as Afranius partie came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new supplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backs, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers vsed, was first to runne furiously vpon an enemy, to seize any place boldly and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or ranks, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed fashion. If they chaunc'd to be thoroughly charged, they thought it no shame to giue way and retire; accustomed there-vnto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the souldiers haue long liued, they get much of the vsage and condition of those places. Notwithstanding, our men were much troubled therat, as vnaccustomed to that kind of fight: for, seeing every man leaue his ranke, and runne up and downe, they feared least they should be circumvented, and sette vpon in flanke, and on their bare & open side; vwhere-as themselves were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but vpon extraordinary occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Antesignani, the legion that stood in the corner, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie being affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond euery mans opinion, contrarie to former vse.

Cæsar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and sbrewly pursuing our men) to turne their backs, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand vnder the walles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeuour, and going about to repaire their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disadvantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne stood: and as they would haue made their retreat, they were charged afresh from the upper ground. The front of the place had an vneste broken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as would serue three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Cavalrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined easily from the towne about foure hundred paces in length: and that way our men had some conuenience of retireit, from the disadvantage to which their desire had vnadvisedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the straightness thereof, as also for that they stood vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prowesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they received. The enemies forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were wearied out. And the like was Cæsar faine to doe, sending fresh Cohorts to that place to relieue the wearied.

G.

After

After they had thus continually fought for the space of five houres together, and that our men were much over-charged with an vnequall multitude; hauing spent all their weapons, they drew their swords, and ascended up the hill, to charge and assault the enemy: and hauing slaine a few of them, the rest were driven to make a retreat. The cohorts being thus put backe to the walles, and some of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an easie retreat. Our Cavalrie did from a lowe ground get up vnto the toppe of the hill; and riding up and downe betwene the two Armies, made our souldiers to retreat with better ease: and so the fight succeeded diuersly.

About seauentie of our men were slaine in the first onset. And amongst these was slaine Q. Fulginius, Captaine of the first thirtieth Centurie of the fourteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were slaine T. Caelius, Centurion of a Primipile order, and foure Centurions more, besides two hundred souldiers. But such was the opinion of that daies business, that either side believed they left with the better.

Afranius party was so perswaded, for that they long stood to handy blowes, and resisted the violence of our souldiers, although in all mens iudgement they were the weaker: as also, for that they first tooke and held the place which gaue occasion of that fight; & in the first encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for five houres together, in a place of disadvantage, & with an vnequall multitude: that they ascended up the hill with their swords drawne, and compelled their aduersarie to turne their back, & to retreat into the towne, mangle the disadvantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this direction which Caesar gaue, to take the little Hill betwene Illerd and Afranius Campe, wee may obserue the danger depending vpon the mischewing of an action. For, the failing of a purpose, in seeking to obtaine that which would prouoe of great aduantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in euery designe pretendeth gaine, so the means thereof doe giue way to hazard: from whence it consequently followeth; that such as are employed in execution, had neede to vse all indeuour, not to falsifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconsiderate carriage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by serious and warie prosecution of the same.

And the rather, for that it specially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handling of commandes; for, they first are like to seele the smart of anie error committed therein; or otherwise, to haue the honour of anie fortunate success, for as much as Vertue hath all her praise from Action.

Concer-

Et villor sub-
dulo Martie
pendit. Lucan.
lib. 4.

Omnis laus vir-
tutis in actione
conficit. Arrip.
lib. 6.

Concerning the vse of running, we are to vnderstand, that the Romanes (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as auailable in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they might charge the enemy with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might possesse themselves with speed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discouer, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And lastly, to prosecute a flying enemy, to better purpose and effect. And thus, as Seneca saith, they practised in peace; that being accustomed to needlesse labour, they might be able to discharge necessary duties. And Liuius, amongst the militarie exercises vsed by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits which hee afterwards achieved, saith; That the first day, the legions ran foure miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Praetorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, being futed of purpose to make himselfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himselfe running as fast as the Emperours Chariot, for twenty miles together.

Lib. 1. cap. 9.
The vse of
running.

Atilius in media
pace decurrit,
line vltio hostes, et
superuacuo Labo-
re lassatur, vt
difficere necessa-
rio possit. Seneca
Epist. 18.
Lib. 26.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE second thing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Caesars men, in charging the enemy with their swords drawne, against the Hill; and making them to giue backe, had an easie and safe retreat from the danger wherein they were engaged. Whereby wee may obserue, that difficulties of extremitie, are neuer better cleared, then by aduenturous and desperate undertakings: According to the condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which being light & easie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but being grievous and doubtful, doe require sharpe and strong remedies. VWhich doth also in like manner appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in weights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not moued, but with a counterpoise of greater force; no more can extremities of hazard bee auoided, but by like perillous enforcements.

And hence groweth the difference betweene true valour and foole-hardy rashnesse; being but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subiect wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange aduentures, vpon no iust occasion, were to shew more leuitie then discretion: And againe, to vse the like boldnesse in cases of extremitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeuour. As is well obserued by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, saith he, considering the danger wherein wee are, to vse that prowesse and courage which we boast of.

And accordinglie, Diomedes censured Glaucus in the same place, for offering himselfe to the suite of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, saith he,

G 2.

or

Medici leuit-
erantantes, leni-
ter curant: gra-
uiores autem
morbus, pericu-
losas curaciones
et ancipites ad-
hibere coguntur.
Cicero de offici-
is.

Iliad. 6.

or elle but a lost and forlorne man. VVhich may serue to learne vs the true vie of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more shewed then in misemploy ment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The parts of a Legion.

WHae already, in the obseruations of the second Commentary of the warres of Gallia, discoursed particularly of the partes of a legion: Where it appeareth, that in Cæsars time, a legion consisted of fiftie thousand men, or thereabouts; and according to the sufficiency and experience of the souldiers, was diuided into three parts. The first and meanest of such as followed an Ensigne, were called *Haslati*. The second, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe sort, *Triarii*: and according to this diuision, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againe, each of these three kinds was diuided into tenne companies, which they called *Maniples*; and euery Maniple was subdiuided into two Centuries or Orders: and in euery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. These orders were distinguished, by the numbers of the first, second, third, and so consequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the last & lowest of each of these three kinds. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the first and prime order of the *Haslati*: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the first order of the *Triarii*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the first companie of a legion.

Antesignani.

Now, concerning their imbatrelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuision of *Haslati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, vpon occasion of fight, they made a triple battell, one standing in front to another; which we call the vanguard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the *Haslati* were called *Antesignani*: not for that they had no Ensignes of their owne; for, euery Maniple had an Ensigne: but because they stood imbatelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Ensignes of the legion. To which purpose is that of Liuius, *Pugna orta est, non illa ordinata per Haslatos, Præintepesque et Triarios, nec ut pro signis Antesignanus, post signa alia pugnaret Acies*. And againe; *Cadunt Antesignani: ei ne nudentur propaginatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima Acies*. Whereby it appeareth, that most of the chiefe Ensignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subsignani*, as the *Triarii* *Postsignani*.

Lib. 4.

Amongst other benefites of these fo particular diuisions of an Armie, that is not the least which is noted by Thucydides, *Et iussa imperatoris brevis spacio ad singulos milites deferri possent*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar, brought into great extreamity by ouerflowing of two Riuer.



HE enemy fortified the Mount for which they contended, with great and strong works; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these things were in doing, there fell out vpon a suddaine a great incommenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were neuer scene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so abundantly from the Hilles, that it over-floved the bankes of the River; and in one day, brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Cæsar into great extreamity. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betwene two Riuer, Sioris and Ginga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuer were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped up in that straightnes; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselves with Cæsars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, being hindered by the riuer, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great convoies and reinforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

Cæsar.

*Cingaratidus
magis quam
magis.*

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neere about were all emptied; for, Afranius before Cæsars coming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Cæsars comming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieved this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remoued by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the sight Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the riner, forasmuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly provided and stored up; much was brought in from all the Prouinces round about, hauing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the riner was whole and vntouched, which Cæsar could not come vnto by any meanes. The waters continued for many daies together. Cæsar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the River would permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemy, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easily hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riner; the

G 3.

greatness

greatnes of the water; as also, for that they might easily cast their weapons fro along the banke, unto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the Riuer running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to swimme the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, we may obserue, that the strength of a multitude is not privileged from such casualties as betide the weakenesses of particular persons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extremities, which can neither by providence bepreuented, nor removed by industrie: & are such as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumstances of time and place; together with such accidents as are interlaced with the same. In respect whereof it was, that Cambises told Cyrus; That in the course of warre he should meet with some occasions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be overcome with lesse difficultie then an enemy; and are the more dangerous, according as they give way to scarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is laid in the same place; *Seis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, si committu exercitus careat.*

The remedies whereof, are first, Patience; which is as requisite in a fouldier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in such cases keepeth an Army from discontentment and disorder, untill meanes of better fortune. And secondly, Good indeuour, which auaileth much in such chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæsar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from these inconueniences.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of passing a Riuer with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obserued, that as people exquisitely fashioned to a ciuill life, by a firme & settled policie of government, are firme and reall in the whole course of their proceedings, and accordingly doe shew their punctualitie, as well in their solemnities and priuate cariages, as in their magnificent and stately buildings: so on the other side, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and flight lawes, are as slight and rude in their actions; as amongst other things, may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no scorn, to vie the helpe of bladders in passing ouer a Riuer, as a deuise comming next to hand: which the people of a wise and potent State, would not haue done, but by a sure and substantiall bridge.

The vie of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongst people of that nature, so it is continued in the same manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gronland,

Sunt quædam in quibus non aduersus homines certamen est, sed cum ipsi velis: quæ superare perdifficile est. D. Cassio lib. 1. de Inst. Cyri.

Diligentia in omnibus rebus plurimum valet.

Bladders used by the Spaniards in swimming ouer R. Cyri.

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the dilcoueries made of late by the Molcouy Marchants, about the Northwell passage: fro whence such as are employed in those voiaiges, haue brought great and large bladders or bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniously deuised to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their collar, to helpe themselves in swimming. And after the same easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as Iosephus Acosta writeth (in stead of wood and stone) made their bridges ouer great Riuers of plaited Reedes, which they fastened to the bankes on each side with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weeds, by which, men and beasts (if there be any credit in his storie) passe ouer with ease. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreme insufficiencie; They would say he could neither readen nor swim: So Cæsar seemed of the same opinion, by commending the skill of swimming, as a thing of much consequence in the vie of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he cast himselfe into a small boate, for his better safetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to sinke, he leapt into the sea, and swom to his Fleet, which was 200 paces off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, about the water: and traying his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemy.

Lib. 6. ca. 14.

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a party. *The scarcitie of victuall in Cæsars Armie.*



It was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuies that were comming to Cæsar, but were hindered by the waters, and a boade there by the Riuers side: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia, and Hor semen out of Gallia, with manie carres & cariages, according to the custome of the Galles. There were besides, of all sorts, about fixe thousand men with their seruants and attendants; but without order, or any knowne command: for, euery man was at his owne libertie, traouelling the Countrey without feave, according to the former freedome & safetie of the waier. There were likewise many young men of good ranke, Senators sonnes, and Knights of Rome, besides Ambassadors from sundry States, & diuers of Cæsars Legates. All thec were kept backe by the Riuer.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horse, to cut off this party, and sending his Canallie before, sette vpon them vnawares. Howbeit, the Canallie of the Galles, put themselves speedily in order, and buck led with them. And as long as it stood vpon indifferent rearmes, they being but a few, did withstand a great number of the enemy: but as soone as they disco-
uered

Cæsar.

nered the Insignes of the legions comming towards them, some few of them being slaine, the rest betooke themselves to the next hills.

This small time of encounter, was of great consequence for the safety of our men; for, by this means, they had opportunity to take the upper ground, there were lost that day 200 Archers, a few horsemen, and no great number of it soldiers boyes, together with the baggage. victuals, by reason of all these things wedded very deere, as well in regard o^r the present want, as also for feare of future penury, as commonly it happeneth in such cases; inasmuch as a bushell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the soldiers grew weaker for want of sustenance, and the inconueniences therof daily more and more increased. For so great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men were much afflicted with the extreme want of all necessary provisions: whereas they on the other side, having all things in abundance, were held for victors. Caesar sent vnto those States which were of his party, and in stead of Corne, gave them order to furnish him with Cattell: dismissed soldiers boyes, and sent them to townes furthest off; relieving the present scarcity by all the means he could.

Afranius and Petreus, together with their friends, enlarged theforeshinges in their Letters to Rome: rumoury and report added much hereunto; as that the warre was ended almost at an end. These messengers and Letters being come to Rome, there was great conceits from all parts to Afranius house, much congratulation and reioicing for the things: and there-upon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, some to be the first messengers of the newes; others, that they might not seeme to expect the euent of the war, and so prouoe the last that came to that partie.

When the matter was brought to these difficulties and extremitities, and all the waies were kept by *Afrumian* soldiers and horsemen: *Cajar* gave order to the soldiers, to make such boates and Barks as hee had in former yeeres taught them the use of in the warre of Brittain: the keeles whereof were built of light fluffe, and small timber, and the upper partes made with wicker, and covered with hides. Which being finished, he laded them upon Carres, and carried them in the night some twenty two miles from the Campe. And in these Barks, transporting his soldiers over the river, upon a Iudaine posselt himselfe of a little hill, which lay continent unto the water side: which bill he speedily fortified, before the enemy had notice thereof. Afterwards, hee brought over a legion to that place, and made a bridge from side to side in two daies space: and so the convoies, which had gone forth for provisions & forrage, returned backe in safeties wherby he began to settle a course for provision of Corne.

The same day, he passed over the river a great part of his Cavalrie, who falling unlooked for upon the forragers (scattered here and there without fear or suspicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-upon, the Enemy seeing certain Spanish troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to second and relieve the forragers, they divided themselves of purpose into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotten, and the other, to resist and beat back the forces sent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had eschewed some out before the Army was intercepted, & cut off: the rest returned by the bridge into the Camp in safety with a great booty. THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T Hefe Rudeni inhabited that part of province when Rhodes now standeth: amongst whom Caesar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, being a stout and warlike people, and vying archerie, as appeareth in this place. Which, howsoever the course of time hath brought into viter contempt, yet lets not (come to take notice, that anciently it hath been vied by such as performed the greattest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two sorts of weapons to achieve labours of so much variety; a Club for such monsters as would confect with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may be believed) Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, having a fable of gallant Counters, left them all at home, least he should not find meenes at Troy, to give them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with such reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a conflikt, to refist the rage and extreame presures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieved the distressed Grecians from a hot and desperate pursute, by flaying with his boaw eight valliant Troians before he tired his foote.

Concerning the use of which weapon, howsoever it may seeme ridiculous (to such as vnderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yetthey may remember, that the Gray-goose vnto gaue our forefathers such aduantage, that they wrought wonders amongst all Nations for decedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as much hope of successe, if we could handle our bowes in any measure as they did. Of this I haue already formerly treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is a saying as true as it is old, that An ill hap cometh not alone, but is alwaies attended with such consequents as will enforce other inconveniencies; as may be observed by this extremitie heere mentioned. For, the mischief was not bounded with the affliction which Caesar suffered for want of needfull prouision, notwithstanding the weight was such that could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy enlarged it to his further advantage, vauunting of it as a helplesse remedy, and making out dispatches to send victorieto Rome. VVhich gaue him yet further preiudice in the opinion of the world; and made thole his enemies, that formerly shewed no dilike of his proceedings. And thus euery ill chaunce hath a taile of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeour may preuent, it shall much import a Commander to auoid them.

THE

Rutheni.
Soluuntur flau.
longa statione
Rutheni. Luc.
lib. 1.

Stymphalide
Iliad, lib. 5.

Iliad. lib. 7.

An ill chaunce
commeth not
alone.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

*Necessitas ser-
uatis fieri docet,
non utrodo faci-
se. Secunda faci-
et. Angui. cap. 10.*

Id. 5.

Necessitie maketh men constant in their sufferings, so Custome giueth easines and meanes of deliuerance: according as may appeare by this direction of Caesar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, first the Boates heere prescribed, were such as heved in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were those he commaunded to be built for his second journey: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flames of their bottomes, and not otherwise. For, it is not to be supposed, that those Barkes were couered with skinnes; vnlesse peraduenture hee vsed some such as these vpon occasion in that warre, not expressed in the storie.

Coracles.

Herodotus in his *Clia*, describeth the like; The boats (saith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphrates, are made by the Heardsmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round fashion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinnes, the haire side inwards; and in these they take their passage. Such as fish for Salmon in the Riuer of Scuenie, vie the like boates in all respects, which they call *Coracles* or *Corium*: beeing all couered with horse-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the means heved to passe ouer without impeachment from the Enemy, by carying those boates in the night time vpon the Riuer to a place of securitie, was such, the like whereof he had formerly practised in Gallia, to passe the Riuer Loier, beeing then guarded on the other side by the Enemy. Whereby wee see, how much vse and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of finaller experience: according to that, *Dies Diem docet.*

CHAP. XIX.

The Masilians encounter with Brutus at Sea,
and are beaten.

Caesar.



While these things were done at Ilerda, the Masilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and set out 17 Gallies, whereof eleven were couered; besides many lesser vessels which went along with them, to make the Nauie seeme the greater for the astonishment of the Enemy. In these they put a great number of Archers, and many Alibuckes, of whom wee haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promises. Domitius required certaine shippes for himselfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus furnished, set forward with great confidence towards our shipping, whereof D. Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an Island right ouer against Marjelles. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shipping; but Caesar hauing pickt the chiefeest and valiantest men out of all the legions, as well of the *Antesignani* as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themselues requiring to bee imployed in that seruice. These men had prepared hookes, and grapples of Iron, and had likewise furnished themselves with many Piles and Darts, and other sorts of weapons: and vnderstanding of the Enemies comming, put to sea, and encountered with the Masilians. They fought on either side very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Alibuckes much inferiour to our men in prowesse, beeing rough mountainous people, exercised in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off from the Masilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and vntamed kind of people, stirred up with hope of liberty) did strue to shew their valour in the presence of their Maister.

The Masilians, trusting to the nimbleness of their shipping, and in the skill and dexterity of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the shooke of our shippes, when they came violently to stemme them. And, forasmuch as they had sea-room enough, they drew out their Nauie at length, to compass and inclose our men about: And sometimes, they would single out one of our ships, and set vpon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a side of their oars in their passage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leauing aside the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themselves to the stoutness and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to vse worse oare-men, and more vnskilfull Pilots; who beeing lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tackling, and were much troubled with the heauiness and sluggishness of the shippings, which beeing made in haste of vnseasoned timber, was not so nimble or ready for vse. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, every single shippe did willingly vnder-take two at once; and hauing grappled with either of them, fought on each side, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Highlanders; and Shepheards. Part of the ships they sunke, some they tooke with the men, & the rest they beate backe into theauen. That day the Masilians lost nine shippes, with those that were taken. This newes was brought to Caesar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hauē formerlie obserued the manner of their sea-fight, consisting of three parts; The first was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their shippes, either forcibly to assault, or to laviue and beate off, as might fall for their best aduantage: wherein the Masilians, by reason of the skilfulness of their Pilots, had great confidence. The second, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, such as were their Baliste and Catapulte, casting stones and logs of wood one against another, as also with slings, arrowes and darts; resembling our great artillerie, and

Sea-fight.

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-cattles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, forasmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie souldier caried the cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land: beeing fitted by the discipline of their Militarie exercises, to vndertake any seruice subiect to humane industrie: whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were instructed.

Neither is it seene at any time, but that such kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keep their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of absolute and compleat carriage, both for desingnement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN Haue a little before shewed out of Liue, that the *Antesignani* were ordinarily taken for the *Hastati*; which, beeing the easiest sort of souldiers, according to the generall diuision of a legion, doth seeme to contradict the passage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Caesar ei classi attribuerat*. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Hastati*, or first battell of a legion, were generally taken for the *Antesignani* (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefeest Ensignes, which were alwaies amongst the *Principes* or second battell); so euery Maniple, hauing an Ensigne in the middelt of the troope, the souldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called *Antesignani*, and were the best souldiers in the Companie: for the Centurion, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men; the rest, filling vp the reare, comforted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Tergiductor*.

Whence we may admire the temperature and disposition of a Romaine Armie, beeing first generally diuided into three battels, whereof the meanest were in the vanguard, to make triall of their strength, and to spend the heat of their young blood in the first affront of an enemy: The *Veterani*, or olde souldiers, beeing left in the reareward, to repaire any losse, which either force or casualtie should cast vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoise themselves, in such a manner as the weakest might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were so ordered, that the best men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made such an exquisite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full strength.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemy resolueth to transerre the warre into Celtiberia.



VPon the making of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Cavalrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do; Sometimes seeking forrage within a small distance of the Campe, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreat if occasion required; Sometimes fetching a great compasse about to avoid the guardes & stations of our horsemen. And if they had received but the least check, or had but desiered the Cavalrie as farre off, they would haue cast downe their burdens, and fledde away.

Cesar.

At last, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was neuer vsed by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of Ossa and Calpurnis, beeing in league together, sent Embassadors to Caesar, with offer of their seruice, in such sort as he should please to command it. Within a few daies, the *Tarraconenses*, *Lacetani*, and *Ausetani*, together with the *Illurganoneses*, which border vpon the Riner *Ehrus*, followed after. Of all these hee desired supplies of Corne, and provision: which they promised to furnish; and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the *Illurganoneses*, vnderstanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and suddenly a great alteration of things appeared.

Ossa.
Calpurnis.

The bridge beeing perfected, great Citties and States beeing come in vnto him, a course settled for provision of Corne, and the rumour blowne ouer of the succours and legions, which Pompey was said to come withall, by the way of *Aurritania*; many other townes further off, resulted from *Afranius*, and claued to *Cæsars* partie.

The Enemy, beeing much affrighted and abashed at these things, Caesar (to auoide the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) hauing got a conuenient place, resolved to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the river *Sicoris*, and make it passable by a ford. These trenches beeing almost made, *Afranius* and *Petorius* did there-vpon conceive a great feare, least they should be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; forasmuch as Caesar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leaue that place, and transerre the warre into Celtiberia: being the rather there-vnto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Factions, which in the former warre had stood for *L. Sertorius*, such Citties as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie.

and

Ollagefa.

and that such, as from the beginning had continued firme vnto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had receiued from him; amongst them whom Cæsars name was not knowne. There they expected great succours both of horse and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote untill winter.

This aduice being agreed vpon, they gaue order to take up all the boates that were on the riuer Iberus, and to bring them to Ollagefa; a towne sited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and transporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which being known by the Discoverers, Cæsar by the extreame labour of the souldiers, continued day and night in turning the course of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that passe, that the horsemen (with some difficulty) durst aduenture ouer: but the foot troopes, hauing nothing aboue the water but their heads, were so hindered as well by the depth of the Riuer, as the swiftness of the streame, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithstanding, at the same instant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuer Iberus, and a sword was found in the riuer Sicoris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ilerda.

Lib. 1111.

Ist, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now known by the name of Lerida) standeth vpon the Riuer Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and being sited vpon a hill, is inclosed round with a wall of hewn stone, in a pleasant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphically described by Lucan;

*Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum
Pingue solum tumulo, super hunc fundata vextusa
Surgit Ilerda manu; pleridis pralabitur undis
Hesperio inter Sicoris non vltimus amnes:
Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas passurus aquas.*

It was formerly a Vniuersitie, and at all times famous for salt meates & pickled fish. Where vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it so fell out that no man would regard it, neuertheless, it might serue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fish in.

Aut fugies Picam, aut vntus mittèris Ilerdam.

Ofca
Vatrinx.

Ofca, now called Huesca, a towne likewise of Catalonia, in former time surnamed *Vatrinx*; where Sertorius kept the fennes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyalty; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there caused to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

In this towne his hap was to be llaing by Perpenna, as Patriculus recordeth the storie; *Tum M. Perpenna pratorius, & proscriptis, generis clarioris quam animi Sertorium inter canam Aetolca interemit; Romanisque certè victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem, pessimo auctorauit facinore: Vhich Aetolca, is by all men taken for this Ofca.*

The inhabitants boast of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated vpon a hill on the banks of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulness to their Commanders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; *Quò perseverantius interempti Sertorij cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei frustrantes, fidem præstarent, quia nullam aliud in urbe eorum supererat animal, uxores suas, natoque, ad vsum nefaria dapis uerterunt; quoque diutius armata iuuentus, viscerà sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices eademerum reliquias salire non dubitauit.*

Neuertheless, Afranius tooke the in the end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOVI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. ESSE.
EQ. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HEC. LEGIS.
ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HYMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelitie, Augustus Cæsar tooke a band of these people for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and being brought from thence to Rome, in Nero's time, was the first that taught a publique Schoole for salarie: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Rome publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico claruit.*

Celiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuer Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where vpon Lucan saith;

H 2

profu-

Lib. 1.

Calaguris.

Lib. 7. cap. 6.

Suetonius in
Augusto.
Color. Calaga-
uritanorum.
Ad Eusebii
Chronicum.

Celiberia.

Lib. 4.

Lib. 2. cap. 17.
Lib. 2. ca. 6.Sib. Ital.
Lib. 3.

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

*profugique à Gente vetusta
Gallorum Celta, miscentes nomen Iberis.*

Florus calleth them *Hispamie Robur*. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miserable and shamefull end.

*Hic pugna cecidisse decus, corpusque cremari
Tale nefas: calce credunt, superisque referri,
Impassus carpat si membra iacentia vulsur.*

Their Armes and weapons were of singular raritie: for, besides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had also a peculiar fashion of working them, as witnesseth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their places of Iron in the earth, vntill the worst and weakest part were eaten out with rust, and of that which remained, they made very hard swordes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE suddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon small accidents; which are so forcible to shake out resolutions, as made a great Philosopher, to describe a man by the propertie of *mutabile Animal*. And is notable scene in this; That Afranius, in the compasse of a few daies, triumphed of Cæsars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage comming to a partie, when they shake off any eminent distresse: for, as the extremitie thereof threatneth ruine and destruction, so the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And surely, such is the condition of all sorts of Miserie, that when the storme is ouer, and the bitterness of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the vicissitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commander, knowing the aduantage of such an opportunitie, must indeuour to improue the same, as may best serue to a speedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy setteth forward, and is staied
by Cæsar.

Cæsar.



HE Enemy, ther-upon, thought it expedient for him to make the more haste; and therfore leauing two Auxiliary cohorts for the safe keeping of Ilerda, hee transported all his forces ouer the Riuier Sicoris, and incamped himselfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæsar to doe, but with his Canallie to impeache and

and trouble the enemy in their march. And so far as much as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raised their Camp, vpon a suddaine, the Canallie stowed them (clues in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to flay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the upper ground where Cæsar lay incamped, it was perceiued, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Canallie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neuer thelesse broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and forc't them to giue way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The souldiers walking up and down the Camp, were grieved that the enemy should so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went vnto the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, praying them to beseech Cæsar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuier where the horse went ouer. Cæsar, moued through their desire and importunity, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a riuer of that greatnes, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commanded, that the weakest souldiers of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or strength shewed a disabilitie to vnder-take that seruice: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and hauing set a great number of horses & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuer, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the souldiers, being caried away with the fireame, were succoured and taken up by the horsemen; in so much as not one man perished.

The Army caried thus ouer in safetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeuour of the souldiour, that albeit they had set circuit of fixe miles to the foord, and had spent much time in passing the riuer; yet by the ninth houre, they did ouertake the enemy that rose about the third watch of the night.

As soone as Afranius and Petreius had discovered the legions a farre off (being terrified with the noueltie of that pursuit) they betooke themselves to the upper ground, and there imbattelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cæsar refreshed his Armie in the field, and would not suffer them (being wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after to giue battell: and the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then was purposed: for, there were hilles a litle before them; and for fixe miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (being aduanced betwene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæsars Canallie; and by keeping the passages, to hinder the Armie from following after; to the end they themselves might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuer Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuer thelesse, being wearied with trauielling and fighting all day, they put off the businesse to the next morning.

H 3.

Cæsar

Three of the
clock in the af-
ternoon.

*Adela concla-
manti.*

Cæsar also incamped himselfe on the next hill; and about midnight, some of their partie being gone out from the Campe, some-what far off; to fetch water, were taken by the horsemen. By them, Cæsar was aduertised, that the Enemy with silence began to remoue, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Whereupon, he commaunded the signe of rising to be giuen, and the cry (dislodging and trusing vp their baggage) to be taken vp, according to the discipline and vse of souldiers.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing lest they should bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be shutte up in those straight passages by Cæsars horsemen, staid their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



His passage ouer Sicoris, was in the same manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the River Loier, in the leauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; Vado per Equites inuento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut Brachia modo atque Humeri, ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum transduxit.

The horse that flood about, brake the force of the water, & those that were belowe, tooke vp such as were ouercome with the streame; and withall, gaue courage to the souldier to venture with better assurance, seeing the passage impaled in, on each side, to keepe them frō miscarying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the swelling pride of that River, by diuiding it into many streames, was in imitation of the first Cyrus; who taking displeasure at the River Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greatest River of Asytia, drew it into three hundred and threescore chanel.

Crœsus, not finding the River Halis passable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, sunke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the vpper part of the River, and so drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegenius hath a particular discourse of pasing an Armie ouer a River, whether it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or swimming, or any other way; to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

*Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuen-
ted by Cæsar.*

(..)



HE next day following, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discover the Countrey, and for the same purpose, some went likewise out of Cæsars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was sent with a small troope to view the site of the place, and either party returned with the same report: that for

five miles, the way was open and champaign, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and whosoever first tooke those straights, might easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their setting forward, was debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for, by that means, they might com to those straights before it were perceived. Others were of opinion, that it was not possible to scale out in the night; as appeared by the cry of rising, taken vp the night before in Cæsars Campe, upon their remoouing: and Cæsars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and passages were kept & shut vp. Neither were they to giue occasion of night fights, but to auoid the same by all the meanes they could; forasmuch as in ciuill dissen- sion, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee ouer-mastered by feare, then continue firme in the allegiance which he had sworn vnto: where- as, in the day time, euery man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be undertaken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet neuer beleesse, the body of the Armie might passe in safetie, and possesse that place which they sought for.

This opinion preuailing in their consultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to sette forward. Cæsar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey, as soone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Osetogesa, were taken vp with the Enemies Campe; in- somuch as they were to passe ouer great and difficult valleis. And in many places, broken Rocks and stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarilie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the souldiers lifting vp one another, and so they passed most part of the way. Howsoever, no man thought much of the labour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their trauell, if they could keep the enemy from passing ouer the River Iberus, and cut off his victualls.

*Attollunt campe
gemine iuga
saxataper, val-
le cana media
celatus arduus
colles, tota qua
inter opaco au-
fascu latere
rit: quibus ho-
ste posito fani-
bus, emitti ter-
ram in densa
Martem, inque
Ierax gentes Ca-
sar videt?
Lucan. lib. 4.*

*Itte vltio or-
dine, aut, ut illi
que iuxta cõver-
te belum, et
iacem pene
inculsi, infestè
minaces, Lucan.
lib. 4.*

At the first, Afranius and his soldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe to see the Armye, casting out words of derision & reproche that for want of victuall, they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they seemed to goe backe againe: and the Commanders themselves, did much approue their owne counsell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed the in their opinion, was, that they perceived they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, necessity would not suffer them to continue long there. But when they saw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceived, how those that were in front, had fall'd backward beyond their Camp, there was no man so dull, but thought it expedient presently to march out, and make head against them. Whereupon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting some few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Iherus.

The whole businesse consisted in speed and celeritie, which of the two should first take the heights, and possess the hills. Caesars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way; and Afranius partie was retarded by Caesars Cavalry. The matter was come to that point, that if Afranius party did first get the hills, they might happily quit themselves of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armye, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be saved: for, being intercepted & secluded by Caesars Armye, there was no meanes to relieue them.

It fell out, that Caesar first attained the place; and being come out from among those great Rocks into a plaine champaigne, put his Army in order of battell against the enemy.

Afranius, seeing the enemy in front, and his reareward hardly charged by Caesars Cavalry, got the aduantage of a small hill & there made them stand: and from thence sent a cohorts bearing round bucklers, vnto a Mountaine, which in all mens sight was higher then the rest; commanding them to runne as fast as they could, and possess that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces; and altering his course, to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaines to the toppe.

As the cohorts were aduanced forward by an oblique circuit, Caesars Cavalry perceiving their intendment, sette vpon them with such violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the sight of both Armies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Retrus and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, resolved by all meanes to shun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertainty, and apt for looseness and disobedience: for, the night, being neither a discoverer of errors, nor yet a distinguisher either

Neque enim pro
fectu: vetat. Et
tu: militem con-
ta. dissonant, ex-
mone: magis qui
pugnare consue-
tere consueuerat
at facit multum
per se pudorem
omnium oculis
offerre.

of actions or perions; but wrapping vp both the vertuous & the faultie in her Mantle of obscuritie, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or to help a mistaking: but rather giuing way to Impunitie and licentious confusion, leaueth no hope of what is wished: VVhereas the light is a witness of euery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie respected.

For which causes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that vntimey expedition against king Iuba, reiected their aduice that would haue had him set forward in the night: *At etiam ut media nocte proficiscamur ad eum: quod maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huiusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus nox maxime aduersaria est.*

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by discourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespasian, and the Vitellian legions nere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this description; *Pralium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis, excitabile. Nil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisu iuuabant.* &c. And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

Neque in villa-
ria deus, nec in
sua fugitum.
Tacit. Hist. lib. 2.

2. Historie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Have already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vse of exact and particular discouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is engaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happie issue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not only able to iudge of any motion which the enemy shall offer, and to giue sure directions to frustrate and make void the same; but also to dispose himselfe, according as shall seeme expedient for his safety. VVherein, if a place of such consequence as is here mentioned shall by designe be ayimed at, this historie sheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Caesar had reason to make his passage through Vallis and Rocks, rather then to lose victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vncasie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, employed in this discouerie, was afterward aduanced by Caesar, to be Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was so much offended. How can I omit (saith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furthest end of the world: whom we see Tribune of the people, before we euer saw him a Citizen.

Oratio. 13. Tullii.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar refused to fight vpon an aduantage offered;
contrary to the opinion and desire of
all men.

Cæsar.

Here was an opportunitie then offered of doing some thing to purpose; neither was Cæsar ignorant thereof. Such an euert throwe giuen before their faces, did consequentie so discourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: especially, being compassed about with the Cavalrie, in an indifferēt and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all sides instantly desired at Cæsars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, desiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the souldiers were very ready, and forward there vnto: where as the contrary partie had shewed many arguments of feare and discouragement. First, in that they did not succour their fellowes. Secondly, in as much as they had not longed from the still, which they had tooke for a retreat. Neither had they withstood the charge and incursion of the Cavalrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confusedly mingled their Ensignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and disadvantage of the Place, they might haue taken some other of more indifferēcie; for, certainly they could not long stay where they were, but must depart from thence for want of water.

Cæsar in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; for as much as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then should he lose a man, although it were to gaine a victorie? Why should he suffer his valiant and well-deserving souldiers, to be so much as hurt or wounded? Or why should he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? especially, when it no lesse concerned the honour and reputation of a Commander, to vanquish an enemy by diction and aduice, then to subdue them by force of Armes: being moued, withall, with a tender commiseration of such Citizens of Rome, as were consequently to be hazarded or slaine in the fight; where-as hee desired to worke out his owne Ends with their safety.

This opinion of Cæsars, was disallowed by most men: and the souldiers would not sticke to speake plainly amongst themselves; for as much as such an occasion of victorie was overslip, that when Cæsar would haue this, they would not fight. Yee, notwithstanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to lessen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreus and Afranius, vpon the opportunitie giuen them, with-drew themselves into their Camp. Cæsar, hauing possessed the hills with guariſons of souldiers, and shut up all the passages leading to Iberus, incamped himselfe as neere as he could to the enemy.

The

The Commanders of the aduersē partie, being much afflicted that they had absolutely lost all meanes of provision of victuall, and of gaining the River Iberus, consulted together of other courses. There were two waies left open; the one to retorne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were considering of these things, it was told them, that such as went out for water, were very much pressed by our Cavalrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horse, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongst them; and began also to raise a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the souldiers might safely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreus and Afranius diuided betweene themselves; and for the perfecting of the same, had occasion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whose absence, the souldiers taking libertie of free speech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they sought him out. And first, they all gave thanks to all our party, that they had spared them when they were terrified and amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their lines by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might safely yeeld themselves to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and so haue ioynd their forces with their ancient friends and kinsmen.

And hauing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require assurance for the lines of Afranius and Petreus; lest they should seeme to conceine mischief against their Generalls, or betray them in seeking their owne safetie. Which things being agreed vpon, they promised to come with their Ensignes to Cæsars Campe; and ther-vpon, sent to Cæsar some of the Centurions of the first Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they invited their friends: on either side into the Camps; in so much, as both their lodgings seemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæsar, recommending themselves to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Primes of Spaine; who they had commanded out, to take part in this warre, and to remaine with them as hostages and Pledges. These inquired after their old acquaintances & ancient hostes, by whom each man might haue access to Cæsar with some commendation. In like manner, Afranius his sonne dealt with Cæsar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All things sounded of ioy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had escaped such eminent dangers: and of vs, that seemed to haue effected such great matters without bloodshed. In so much as Cæsar (in all mens iudgement) reaped great fruit of his accustomed clemencie and mildnes: and his counsell was generally approoved of all men.

Es quamvis multo mitalatus sanguine miles, qui parat fecit, sit, imen. Lucan. lib. 4.

Hospiti ille ceteri uocant, vocat illi propinquus: adiungunt hunc finem, eosque periculis etas: nec Romanus erat qui non agnoscerat hostem. Tacit. lib. 3.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

That every man is the maker of his owne fortune, is evidently seene in the severall carriages of these two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the souldiers treatie, and resolved to suffer whatsoever that transaction should cast vpon him. But Petreius, opposing himselfe to their desires, raised new troubles, had further designs, and another fortune. Wherein, forasmuch as the event of things riseth according as they are first directed, either by weak or strong resolutions; it better futeeth the temper of a souldier (howsoever the successe fall out with our desires) rather to be stiffe in what he wisheth; then to make his owne easines, the ready meanes of his aduersaries happines.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Vertue at all times hath had this priuledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equall to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogative, auouching euery mans promise for the strictnesse of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollement for a war, gaue but their promise to the Tribune of the souldiers, to keepe such ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (falsifying the simplicitie & truth of words) did enforce them to giue an oath, as the surest bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Livie at large; The souldiers (saith hee) which was neuer before that time practised, were sworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon summons from the Consuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a solemn promise (which the horsemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leaue their Colours by flight, or through feare, nor to forsake their rank, vntill it were either to assault an enemy, to take vpon an offensive weapon, or to saue a Citizen; & being at first but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

The forme of this oath was diuersly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more specially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the souldiers oath; That they should hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his sisters. Concerning the respect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, hauing charge of the Prouince of Macedonia, had (amongst other Romaine youtnes) Caros Ion, a young souldier in his Arme; and being occasioned to dismiss a legion, discharged likewise young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, desirous to beare Armes in that war, continued still in the Arme; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he suffered his sonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes sweare him againe: for, being discharged of his first oath, hee could not lawfullie fight against the Enemy.

Euer

*Aulus Gel. lib. 5. c. 8.
Quintus Metellus
et Afranius
lib. 1. c. 1. in
de re mil. lib. 2. c. 2.*

*Lib. 1. c. 1. in
de re mil. lib. 2. c. 2.*

*Lib. 1. c. 1. in
de re mil. lib. 2. c. 2.*

Euer since Constantine the great, the souldiers were iurme by a Christian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour should commaund them; not to leaue their warfare without licence, nor to shun death for the seruice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amongst other Nations, an oath is giuen to the souldier vpon his inrollement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to serue the King, towards all men, and against all, without exception of persons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his seruice, to reueale the same incontinentlie; not to leaue their Colours, without leaue either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant.

The auncient Romaines did charge their solemn and publike oathes, with many ceremonies; as appeareth by that form which was vsed in ratifying Treaties & Transactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that first falsified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romans & Carthaginians sware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordinary manner: The parties invocating their Iupiter, to grant all prosperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (saith hee that tooke the oath) I shall either doe, or purpose otherwise; all the rest being safe and sound, let me alone (in the midst of the lawes and iustice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) perish most vnfortunatly, euen as this stone flieth out of my hand: and (as he spake those words) cast away a stone.

I doe not find the vse of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the common forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and significative as any other whatsoever: which may be obserued by the three parts it containeth, as I haue seene them alligotized in some Antiquities. For, first, the booke being alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promises therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be successfull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kissing of the booke, importeth a vaine mispending of our vowes and praiers, if wee falsifie any thing thereby auerred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeavour which Afranius vsed to returne to *Ilerda*; but failed in his designe.



HEE matter being in this extremitie; of two meanes which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to *Ilerda*. For, hauing left there behind the little Corne, they hoped to take some good course for the sequell. Tarrace was further off, & thereby subiect to more casualties concerning their passage. In regard wherof, they resolved

Cesir.

Lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lib. 3. Hyst.

reioined of their former course, and so dislodged themselves.

Cæsar, hauing sent his Cavalrie before, to incumber and retard the rearguard, followed after (himselfe) with the legions. The hindmost troopes of their Armie, were constrained (without any intermission of time) to fight with our horsemen. And their manner of fight was thus; Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of cariages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaigne places, many of these Cohorts made a stand, to confront our Cavalrie. If they were to ascend up a hill, the nature of the place did easily repell the danger wherewith they were threatned; forasmuch as such as went before, might easily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or descent, that those that were in the former ranks, could not helpe them in the reare; the horsemen from the upper ground, did cast their weapons vwith great ease and facility vpon the Enemy. And then continually they were in great hazard and danger: and still as they approached neere vnto such places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a stand with their Ensignes, and so by great force and violence, expelled our Cavalrie.

Who being retired backe, they would suddenly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And presently againe, being to ascende into higher ground, they would there make a stand: for, they were so farre from hauing help of their owne Cavalrie (whereof they had great number) that they were gladd to take them betweene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former encounters) and so to shelter and protect them: of whom, if any chaunced (vpon occasion) to stray aside out of the rout the Army held, they were presently attached by Cæsars horsemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded slowly on their way, and advanced forward but by little and little: and oftentimes, stood still to succour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, hauing gone but foure miles on their way (being very hardly laide to, and much pressed by our Cavalrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themselves into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their cariages laden vpon their horses. As soone as they perceiued that Cæsars Campe was sette, and that the tents were up, and their horses put to graesse; they rose suddenly about mid-day, vpon hope of some respite, by reason of our horse put out to feeding, and went on their iourney.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, rose and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the cariages: and about the tenth houre, commanding the forragers and horsemen to be called backe, and to follow after; instantly the Cavalrie returned, and betooke themselves to their accustomed charge.

The fight was very sharpe in the reare, inasmuch as they were ready to turne their backs. Many souldiers, and some of the Centurions were slaine. Cæsars troopes preaced hard vpon them, and threatned the ouerthrowe of their whole Armie; inasmuch, as they had neither meanes to chosse a fit place to incampe in, nor to procede forward in their march. Whereby they were necessarilie enforced to make a stande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any water, in an vnequall and disadvantageous place: but Cæsar forbore to meddle with them,

for

for the same reasons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set up their Tents, that they might bee the readier to follow after, at what time soeuer by night or by day they should offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obserued the defect of our Campe, imployed all that night in aduancing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one evil with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæsar, finding them oppressed with manie inconueniences, chosse rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.



N this troublefome and confused retreat, which these Commanders vndertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Ilerda, we may observe the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselves from the pressures of a strong confronting enemy. For, the frailtie of humane fortune, is alwaies to yoked with incombrances, and hath so many lets from the natives weaknes of it owne indour; that if the opposition of forraigne malice, shall therewithall vnhappyly concur, to stoppe the current of our desires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extremitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in seeking to auoide the snare of a rodd; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee haue to shunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the aduantage which a Commander hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maister the Enemy in Cavalrie: for, the horsemen, seeing an Armie Roiall, by making discoueries, by forraging, by giuing rescue vpon a sudden, by dooing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Casualty of the Enemy) they cannot performe these feuitas as is requisite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

Incident in Scyllam, capiens vtriusque Charybdis.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar went about to inclose the Enemy,
and be to binder Cæsar.



Howbeit, Cæsar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease binder their (adaine) sallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would necessarily betake themselves.

Cæsar.

Hieroclesiana,
feyn dato.


T. l. c. t. e. i. a. m.
m. l. e. t. t. e. r. e. r.
q. u. e. v. i. c. t. o. r. i. a.
t. r. a. d. i. t. u. r. e. m. v. i. l. l. o.
c. o. n. f. l. i. c. t. u. m. m. a. l. i. s. f. u. r.
c. a. u. s. e. b. e. l. i. c. i. v. i. c.
t. u. r. h. o. m. i. n. u. m. g. r. a.
t. i. s. i. n. g. u. l. a. q. u. e.
t. r. o. u. a. c. i. t. u. r. h. o. m. i. n. u. m.
L. u. c. i. u. m. l. i. b. 3.

The Enemy being straightened for want of forrage, and to the end also they might be the readier to escape away, caused all their horses of cariage to be killed: and in these workes and consultations were two daies spent. The third day, a great part of Caesars workes being already perished, the enemy (to hinder the business intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbatelled themselves vnder their Campe. Caesar calleth back the legions from their worke, and commanding all his horse to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, having made such a shew of unwillingness to buckle with the enemy, against the will of the souldier and opinion of all men, he found himselfe subiect therevpon to much inconvenience: howbeit, he was resolved (for the reasons already specified) not to strike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the space betweene his Campe and the enemies, was so little, that if he had put the to flight, it could not have much availed him, for the gaining of a perfect and absolute victorie. For, their Campes were not above 2000 foote asunder; whereof the Armies took up two parts, and the third was left for incursion and assault. So that if hee had given battell in that neereness of the Campe, they would have found a speedy retireit vpon their overthrow. For which cause, hee resolved to stand vpon his defence, and not to give the onset and charge them first.

Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the first, consisting of five legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which usually served in the wings, were now placed for succours, and made the second battell.

Caesars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the first was of foure cohorts, a peece of the five legions: the second, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midst, & the Cavalrie on the sides. Being thus both imbatelled, they seemed to obtaine their severall ends; Caesar, not to fight unless he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Caesars fortification. But the matter being drawn out in length, they stood imbatelled untill sunne setting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Ontra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri praelio discessisse, magnū detrimentū asserbat, saith the historie. Whence we may observe two points; First, that a Commander in striking a field, must partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight against the liking of the souldier, nor with-hold them from fighting when they are willing to embrace it, if other circumstances doe indifferentlie concur there-withall. For, when men are commanded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie undertaken; and the issue is commonlie answerable to the readines of their desires: but, being restrained in their affections, and put besides their aptness of their volunarie disposition, there groweth such

Richard cat-
ching Hires
with unwilling
houlders.

such a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the souldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into distaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which he had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commander runneth into, who sildome or neuer gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceived by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especiallie to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which he meaneth not. For, albeit the more iudicious sort of men are not so well satisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet forasmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of private persons, requireth such a direction of business, as may rather sute with fame and opinion, then with particular ends: it behooueth them to vfe such glosses, as may take away all petulant and sinister interpretations, howsoeuer their courses may aime at other purposes. And certainly, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with truth: according as Machauell hath obserued. But concerning Cæsar, that which Ephierates said of himself, hauing imbatelled his Army to fight; That he feared nothing more, then that his enemie knew not his valour: may more properly be said here. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or made them take vp so many Bravados, or vfe so much delay before they came to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword Steele, to make way through all resistance.

Ceterum mortalius in eo fians consilia quid fieri conduceret pueri. Principum diuersa sunt offi, quibus precipua rerum ad famam dirigenda. Tacit.

L'uniuersales, de gli luomini si posser, così di quello che patia come di quello, che è anzi: mouono più per le cose che paiono, che per quelle che sono. Lib. 1. Sop. Tit. Liv. cap. 25. Omnia aier Aquila pertrahit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the next place, the manner of their imbatrelling commeth to be obserued: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij locum alaria cohors obtinebat: Cæsaris triplex, sed primam aciem quaterna cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidarias, terna, et rursus alia totidem sue cuiusque legionis subsequebantur: sagittarij funditoresq; media continebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat.* And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it haue answerable sense to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we vnderstand those wordes, *Acies Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij*? Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other stood for succours behind? Or shall we take it with *Faernus*; *Acies Afraniana duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidij locum alaria cohortes obtinebant*? But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expresse mention of fise, besides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to *Liplius* correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legionum quinque: et in subsidij locum alaria cohortes, obtinebant.*

Their manner of imbatrelling

Lib. 4. de militia Romana.

The

The first battell consisted of five legions; and the second, of the Spanish and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe must be sent to Caesar; for, otherwise, the text doth afford him but few cohorts: standing thus, *Primam aciem quaternae cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has terna, et rursus alia &c.* For, undoubtedly, Caesar had five legions equall to Aftanius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driven to a more artificiall diuision; to helpe his weakeness in that point. And therefore, as the same Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quaternae cohortes ex quinque legionibus*: vvhich bringeth forth this sense; In the first battell were five times foure cohorts; in the second, five times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *sua cuiusque legionis*, it appeareth, that euery legion was so diuided into three parts, that it had foure cohorts in the first battell, three in the second, and three in the last.

Concerning the space which their Armies imbatelled tooke vp, it appeareth, that the whole distance betweene their Campes, contained two thousand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, being 666 foote, 111 paces, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or lesse, as place and occasion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.

Caesar.



HE next day, Caesar went about to finish and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a forrd in the Riuer Sicoris, and so get ouer. Which being perceived, Caesar caried over the light armed Germanes; and part of the Cavalrie, and disposed them in guard along the Riuer banke. At length, being besieged & shut up on all sides, and hauing kept their horses without meate foure daies together, besides their extreame want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in some place out of the presence of the souldier. Which Caesar denied, unless it were in publike. Whereupon, Afranius his sonne was giuen in hostage to Caesar; and so they presented themselves in a place of Caesars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius spake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the souldier, for being faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made sufficient proofe of their dutie, they had also throngly suffered for the same, hauing indured the extremitie of want in all necessarie prouisions: Inasmuch as now they were shut up as women, kept from water, kept from going out, oppressed with a greater weight of griefe in bodie, and of dishonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confesse themselves to be vanquished and

and overcome: praying and beseeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not vndergoe the extremitie of Fortune. And this hee delivered as humbly and demissively as was possible.

To which, Caesar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compassion, could be vsed to no man more vnp properly then himselfe: for, where-as euery man else did his duty, he onely, vpon his conditions of time and place, refused to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concur to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong, in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preferred such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to moue a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the safety of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceeding with them, consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commanders themselves, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and slaine, that were deceived by a shew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons, to seeke and earnestly to desire that which a little before they had foolishly contemned.

Neither would he take the advantage of this their submission, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine, nor the fewenth inrolled there, nor so many and so great Nauiies prepared, nor such experienced and skillfull Commanders selected and appointed (for none of these needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vse and behoofe of the Province, which (by reason of their long continuance of peace) needed not any such assistance. All these things were long agoe provided in a readinesse against him: New formes of government were made and ordained against him; That one and the same man, should be resiant at the gates of Rome, haue the whole superintendencie and direction of the Cittie busines; and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Provinces for so many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Against him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Customs of Magistracie, in sending men at the end of their Pretorship or Consulship, to the government of Provinces, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen some that were allowed & authorized by a few. Against him the prerogative of age did nothing preuaile: but, whosoever they were that in former warres had made good proofe of their valour, were now called out to command Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought things to an end, they might dismisse their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the least, without dishonour.

All which things, hee notwithstanding both had and would suffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himselfe, which hee might easily doe: but that they should not haue means

At nunc sola
milia vlti vna
causa soluitur;
siquis donanda
Caesare credere
vult.

meanes to make head against him. And therefore, as it was said before, they should goe out of the Prouinces, and discharge their Army; if they did so, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and last meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

*Multa, quæ no-
stra causa mun-
gunt facientes,
lacrimis causæ
amictum. Cic-
ro Lilius.*

*Qui vincunt
victam habent
linguam. Plu.*

*Stellin ita fa-
ciunt, ut milia
aud, missi pax,
quæstia vider-
ent. Cic. lib. 1.
de offici.*

Here is not any one vertue, that can challenge a greater measure of honour, or hath more prerogative either amongst friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cause it is, that men are more strict in matters committed to their trust, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the same things concerned themselves. And yet neuertheless, there is a *Quatenus* in all indeuours, and seemeth to be limited with such appearance, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Cæsar for a pardon; *Non esse aut ipsi aut militibus succedendum, quod fideret Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conseruare voluerint; sed satis iam fecisse officio, satisque supplicij tulisse.* &c. which hee deliuered in a stile suiting his fortune. For, as Cominius hath obserued; Men in feare, giue reuerent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chiefeft witness of our fortune.

On the other side, Cæsar produced nothing for his part, but such wrongs as might seeme valuable to make good those courses which he prosecuted: as first, iniuries done by them, and that in the highest degree of blame against his souldiers, that went but to seeke for peace. Iniuries done by their Generall, in such a fashion, as spared not to cvert the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confusion. Vherby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature tieth euery man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam*: and hauing brought it to these rearmes wherein it now stood, he would giue assurance to the world, by the reuenge he thereooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might liue in peace: and so required no more but that the Armie should be dismissed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

HE conditions propounded, were most acceptable & pleasing to the souldiers; as might appeare by them: for, being in the condition of vanquished persons, and therevpon expecting a hard measure of Fortune; to be rewarded with libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: insomuch, as where there grew a controuersie of the time and place of their dismissal, they all generally standing

standing vpon the rampier, signified both by their speeches and by their handes, that their desire was it might be done instantly; for, it could not bee provided by any assurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After some dispute on each side, the matter was in the end brought to this issue; that such as had houses & possessions in Spaine, should be discharged presently, and the rest at the River Varus. It was conditioned, that no man should be iniured, that no man should be forced against his wil, to be sworn vnder Cæsar's command.

Cæsar promised to furnish the with Corne, vntill they came to the river Varus: adding withal, that whatsoeuer any one had lost in the time of the warre, which should be found with any of his souldiers, should be restored to such as lost it, or if it were not to be had, he paid the value ther of in money. If any controuersie afterward grew amongst the souldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cæsar. As, when the Souldiers grew almost into a mutiny for want of pay, the Commanders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cæsar might understand the cause, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army being dismissed in those two daies, hee commanded two legions to march before the Army, and the rest to follow after, and continually to incampe themselves not farre from them: and appointed *Q. Ennius Calenus*, a Legate, to take the charge of that business. This course being taken, they marched out of Spaine to the River Varus, and there dismissed the rest of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.



HE River Varus diuiddeth Gallia Narbonensis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to discharge the Armie, whereby there might be an end made of that warre. Vherin if any man desire to see: a parallell drawne, betwene Cæsar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it shall suffice to take the issue for a square of their directions; being drawne to this head within fortie daies after Cæsar came within sight of the Enemy, as Curtio noteth in his speech to the souldiers.

Caro, seeing the prosperous successe of Cæsar against Pompey, said there was a great vncertainie in the government of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee saith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne persons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the same; the world taking a course quite contrarie to that which the Gods direct. But Lucan spake from a surer ground, where hee saith;

Victrix causa Dijs placuit; sed victa Catoni.

And thus endeth the first Commentarie.

*Varus flumini.
Hic primus,
victor se totum
vincere cogat.
Luc.*

*Remm ab enu-
tu, iacta notan
da pueri.
Lili. 2. Cui.*

THE SECOND COMMENTA-
rie of the Ciuill Warres.
(..)

THE ARGUMENT.

This Commentarie hath three speciall parts; The first, containing the siege of Marselleis: the strange vvorks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The second expresth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Lieutenant, vndertooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæsars power and commaund. And the third part consisteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the siege, aswell within as
without the Towne.



*Willi theſe things were dooing in Spaine, C.Treboni-
us the Legate, beeing left to beſiege Marſelleis, had
begunne in two places to raiſe Mounts, to make Man-
tlets and Towres againſt the Towne: One, next vnto
the Port where the Shippes lay, and the other, in the
way leading from Gallia and Spaine into the townne,
uſt vpon the crocke of the ſea, neere vnto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three
parts of Marſelleis are in a manner waſhed with the ſea: and the fourth is that
which giueth paſſage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Caſtle
(by reaſon of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require
a long and difficult ſiege. For the perfecting of theſe workes, Trebonius had com-
maunded out of all the Prouince, great ſtore of horſes for cariage, and a multi-
tude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materi-
alls for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raiſed a
Mount of foureſcore foote high.*

Cæſar.

K.

But

Porticus
Aeger
Telsudo.

But such was the provision, which of ancient time they had stored up in the towne, of all equipage and necessities for the warre, with such provision of munition and engines, that no Turdies made of Roddes or Osiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Balista, they shot beames of twelue foote long, pointed with Iron, with such force, as they would pearce through foure courses of Turdies, and slicke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roofo their Gallery, with timber of a foote square, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the * Mount, a Telsudo of sixtie foote in length was alwaies caried before, for the leuellling of the ground, made of mighty strong timber, covered and armed with all things which might defend it from stones, or what else should be cast vpon it. But the greatnes of the worke, the height of the wall, together with the multitude of Engins, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.

Moreover, the Albici did make often sallies out of the towne, setting fire to the mounts and to the turrets; which were kept by our souldiers with great facilitie and ease, forcing such as sallied out to returne with great losse.

OBSERVATIONS.



Auging described in the former Commentaries these Engines & workes here mentioned, the Reader may please (for his better satisfaction) to reuiew those places; as also further to note, that the word Artillery, was brought downe to these ages from the use of ancient Engins, which consisted of those two primitiues, *Arcum* and *Telum*. And, according as diuersitie of Art & wit found means to fit these to vie and occasions, so had they severall and distinct names; whereof I find chiefly these, *Balista*, *Catapultæ*, *Tolenones*, *Scorpiones*, *Onagri*: Of each of which, there are diuers and severall sorts; as first, of the *Balista*, some were called *Centenaria*; others, *Talentaria*, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they shot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruvius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate description. Againe, some were made to shoote stones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, *Magnitudine eximia, quartadecima legionis Balista ingentibus saxis hostiliaciem proruabat*; and others, to shoote darts and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifested by this place. Moreover, the manner of bending of these Engines made a difference, some being drawnevp with a winch or scrute, and some with a wheele, some hauing long armes, and others hauing short: but the strings were generally either all of sinowes or of womens haire, as strongest & surest of any other kind. Of these, Vegetius preferreth the *Balista*, and the *Onagri*, as vnresistible when they were skillfully handled. The word *Onagri*, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later stamp, and imposed vpon those Engines which former time called *Scorpiones*; and was taken from the nature of wilde Asses, that are said to cast stones backward with their feete at the Hunters, with such violence, that oftentimes they dashed out their braines.

In

Artillery de-
rived from Ar-
cus and Telum

Lib. 10. ca. 17

Lib. 2. Histo-
ria Balista & Pe-
traria.

Lib. 4. cap. 29

In the time of Barbarisme, all these Engines were generally called *Mangonella*: as appeareth by Viginerius, in his Annotations vpon Onofander. Which is likewise shewed by that which Maister Camden hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was present; *Ex parte orientali fuit una Petruaria, et duo Mangonella, qua quotidie turrim infestabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, qua turrim veterem contruerunt, et unum Mangonellum ex parte Australi, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all these out of vie, it were to no purpose to insit longer vpon them.

And of Man-
gonellum, a bat-
terer or breac-
ker, cometh
our English
word Mangle.

CHAP. II.

The Marfellians prepare themselves
for a Sea-fight.

N the meane time, L. Nasidius being sent by Cn. Pompeius with a Naue of sixteen shippes (amongst which, some few had their beake-head of Iron) to the succour and supply of L. Domitius and the Marfellians, he passed the straights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into Messana, by reason of the suddaine terrour of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themselves to flight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marfellies. And, hauing sent a small Barke before, he certified Domitius and the rest of his comming, exhorting them by all means, that ioyning their forces with his supplies, they would once againe giue fight to Brutus Naue.

Cesar.

Messina.

The Marfellians, since their former overthrow, had taken the like number of shippes out of their Arsenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and with great industrie furnished and manned them for that seruice: for, they wanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpose. To these they added certaine Fisher-boates, and senced them with sights and coverings, that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled with Archers and Engines. The Naue being thus furnished and prepared, the Marfellians incited and stirred up with the prayers and teares of old men, women and maides, to giue help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no lesse courage and confidence then formerly they had accustomed: went all aboard with great courage, as it cometh to passe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnseene and vknownne, or otherwise are more troubled therat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of Nasidius had filled the Cittie full of assured hope and courage: and therupon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found Nasidius at Taurenta (a Castle belonging to the Marfellians) & there fitted themselves for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that seruice, and consulting how it might be best performed.

Tolous.

K 2.

The

Arles.

The right squadron was giuen to the Marsellians, and the left to Nasidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, hauing increased the number of his Shippes: for, those sixe which he tooke from the Marsellians, he had added vnto the other which Caesar had caused to be made at Arleate, and had mended them since the last fight, and fitted them with all necessaries for men of warre. And there-vpon, exhorting his souldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquished partie, hauing already foiled and ouerthrowne them when they were in their strength, they set forward against them with great assurance.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all those higher places they might easily perceiue and see in the Cittie, how all the youth which remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wives and children, did from the publike places of guard, and from the towne-walles, stretch out their handes towards heauen: or otherwise runne to their Churches and Temples; and there prostrating themselves before their Images, did desire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the euent of all their fortunes to consist in that daies seruice. For, the chiefest of all their able men, and the best of all sorts and degrees, were by name called out, and intreated to goe aboard, so the end if any disaster or mischaunce should happen, they might see nothing further to be indeaoured for their safetie; and if they ouercame, they might rest in hope to saue their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraigne helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Quoniam fit vitio naturæ, ut inuisis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterramur, ut tum accidit. In cases of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuse our iudgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to distrust, then any matter present can moue or in-force: for, these perturbations attending vpon our will, are enlarged more according to the qualitie of our desires, then as they are directed by discourse of reason; and so draw men either easily to belieue what their wishes doe require, or otherwise to reiect all as vtterly lost.

The vncertaintie whereof, and the disappointment ensuing those deceivable apprehensions, hath brought the hope of this life into very slight account, being reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a charitable delusion, to support vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, every mans helpe is hope; which neuer affordeth present reliefe, but allwaie the bitternesse of extremities, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*.

Virgil. lib. 2.
Æneid.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marsellians ouertrowne.

Caesar.

THE fight being begun, the Marsellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind such exhortation as a little before had beene giuen them by their friends, they fought so resolutely as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one should chance to miserie in that battell, he should make account that he did but anticipate for a small moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpon taking of the towne, were to goe the same fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, went glad to giue way to the nimblenes and mobility of their shipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their shippes, they presently came on all sides to their reskew. Neither did the Albies shew themselves backward when the matter came to bands, or were they inferior to our men in courage or valour. Moreover, out of the lesser Shippes were cast infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wherewith our men busied in fight were suddainly wounded.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, hauing spied Brutus shippe (which by her flagge might easily be discerned) came violently against him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreseene, Brutus did so preuail through the swiftnesse of his Ship, that he a little out-strippt them; whereby, coming with their full swing, did so encounter one another, that they were very much shaken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one being broken off, the water was ready to come in on all sides. Which being obserued by some of Brutus partie that were neere about, they set vpon them (being thus distressed) and quicklie sunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Nasidius, were found of no use; for, there was not offered there vnto them, either the sight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and prayers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motives to hazard their liues in that quarrell: so that of them there was none wanting. Of the Shippes that came out from Marsellies, five were sunke, and foure taken. One escaped with Nasidius fleet, which made toward the hitler Spaine. One of them that remained, was sent before to Marsellies; who coming as a messenger before the rest, and approaching neere vnto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which being once knowne, there was such a generall mourning and desolation, as though the towne were instantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithstanding, they left not off to make ready such necessaries, as were requisite for defence of the same.

K 3.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



His was the second fight the Marcellians made, to keep the sea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; being otherwise straightlie besieged by land, and yet not so tenderly cared as their shutting vp by sea: the free passage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their succours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the successe of that enterprise, with as much deuotion, as teares, vowes and prayers could expresse.

The benefit a Towne receiueth from an open inlet by sea, cannot be better manifested, then by the siege of Ostend; for, by that occasion specially, it induced the most famous siege that was in Christendome these many yeeres. This L. Nalsidius, was rather a constant friend to the cause, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refused not to take the like ouerthrow for Pompey the sonne, at L. Cadex, as hee did now for the father. And surely it falleth out (whether it be through the vncertainty of sea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at sea, to auoid occasions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pauca digna nascuntur in Mari*, according to the prouerbe, or for what other cause I knowe not) that there are few of those which sought honor in this kind, who haue attained the least part of their desires. And yet neuertheless, some there are of famous memorie: as * Barbarussa, a terror of the Leuant seas: Andreas Aurla, of Genoua, renowned for his great exploits vpon the Turke: together with diuers of our owne Nation; as namely, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at sea, is held matchable with anie other whatsoeuer: Besides, M. Candish, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbisher, for discoueries to the North.

Howbeit, these latter times haue aduantage without comparison of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compass with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeres agoe, by one Flauus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no shippe can shape a course in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

Dio Cassius.

Nihil tam
parvum fortissimum
quam Mare.
Tacit. 14. An
nal.

* King of Al-
giers in the
time of Soli-
man.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers
made against the Towne.

(* *)



I was obserued by the legionarie souldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them against the often eruptions and sallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke vnder the towne wall, in stead of a Bold or receptacle: which at first they made lowe and little, onely for the repelling of suddaine assaults. Thither they usually retreated: and from thence, if they were ouer-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or prosecuting the Enemy. This towre was thir-tie foote square, and the walles thereof five foote thicke: but afterwards (as use and experience is the maister of all things) it was found by insight and industrie of men, that this towre might be of great use, if it were raised to any height, and was accordingly performed in this fashion.

When it was raised to the height of a storie, they so framed the floore, that the ends of the ioyntes did not yttle out beyond the sides of the towre; least any thing might be thrust out, on which the fire which the enemy should cast might take hold: and then paved that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelets and Gabions would suffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarraie thus made, they laide crosse beames along the sides, as a foundation to an upper storie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And vpon these beames they raised crosse timbers, thwarting each other for the sides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with side beames.

These crosse timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the square of the towre; that there might be meanes to fasten coverings and defences, against the blowes and darts of the Enemy, whilst the workemen were finishing the walles and sides of that building. The toppe or upper storie of this towre, they likewise paved with bricke and clay, that no fire might fasten on it; and laide Mattresses on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons shot out of Engines, nor the pavement shivered in peeces with Stones cast out of Catapults.

Moreover, they made three netting, or mats of Hawfers, equall in length to the sides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon those three sides which confronted the Enemy, they fastened them vpon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of prooffe, & not to be feared with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be covered, finished, and fortified, against any violence of the enemy, they carried
their

Caesar.

their Mantelets and defences to the rest unfinished. The top of which towre, they framed vpon the first storie, and then raised it up with winches or serues, as farre as the close netting would serue them for a defence. And so covered with these shelters and safeguards, they built up the sides with bricke; and then againe screwing up the toppes higher, they fitted the place to build the sides higher: and as they came to the height of a story, they laid the ioyles of the floore in such sort, as the ends thereof were hid and covered with the wall or sides that were of brick; and so from that story, they proceeded to another, by screwing up the top, and raising their netting. By which meanes, they built very safely sixe stories, without any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the sides, for the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought convenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Musculum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber square, to conuay them safely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: whereof this was the forme; They cut two side ground/sils of equall length, and made the space betweene them to containe foure foote; vpon them they erected little columes of fine foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distances, as the rafters were to be placed to beare up the rooffe: and vpon those braces they laid rafters of two foote square, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the eunings, with plates and bolts of iron. They lathed the rooffe with lath of foure fingers broad; and so the building beeing made with a gable ridge handsomly fashioned, the top was laid all ouer with clay, to keepe the Mouse from burning; and then covered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, so the end they might not be washed away with pipes or gutters of water, which might bee laid to fall vpon them. And lest those hides should be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid Mattresses vpon them.

This worke being whollie finished neere vnto the towre, through the help and meanes of defensue mantelets and gabions; suddenly before the enemy was aware, with a shippe-engine and rollers put vnder it, they brought it so neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vvall thereof. The townesmen, beeing vpon a suddaine appalled therat, brought the greatest stones they could get, and with leauers, tumbled them doune from the vvall vpon the mouse: but the strength of the worke did not shrink at the blowes, and what oene fell vpon it, slid downe the sloping of the rooffe. Which when they perceiued, they altered their purpose, and got pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire, threw them doune vpon the Mouse, which tumbling downe from the rooffe, were remooued away with long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the souldiers that were within the Mouse, pulled out the lower stones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouse or Mantilet, was defended by our men out of the bricke towre, with weapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the Enemy was put from the vvall and the turrets, so that they could not well defend the same. Many of the stones beeing fapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof suddenly fell, & the rest leaued as though it would not stand long after.

Observations vpon the second

...nt lesences to the rest vnfinisht. The top of which towre, they
...nt past storie, and then raised it up with winches or serues, as
...nting would serue them for a defence. And so couered with
...nt safeuards, they built up the sides with bricke; and then a-
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...nt and other danger at all; and left windowes and loopholes in
...nt the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought conueni-
...nt means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere a-
...nt, then made a Musculum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two
...nt square, to conuay them safely from this towre of Bricke, to another
...nt and to the towne wall: wherof this was the forme; They cut two
...nt of equal length, and made the space betweene them to containe
...nt, so that they erected little colummes of fine foote high, and toy-
...nt, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distances, as the ras-
...nt be placed to beare up the rooff; and upon those braces they laid safe-
...nt of square, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the euings, with
...nt of iron. They lathed the rooff with lath of sower fingers broad,
...nt being made with a gable ridge handsomely fashioned, the top
...nt with lath, to keepe the Mouse from burning; and then couered
...nt which were frused with leather, to the end they might not be waished
...nt of water, which might bee laid to fall vpon them.
...nt these sides should be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid
...nt vpon them.

...nt being whellie finished neere vnto the towre, through the help and
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...nt a fricke appalled therat, brought the greatest stones they could get,
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...nt of the mouse did not shrinke at the blowes, and whatsoeuer fell
...nt downe the sloping of the rooff. Which when they perceived, they
...nt purpose, and put pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire,
...nt them layre vpon the Mouse; which tumbling downe from the rooff,
...nt away with flonz hookes and pales. In the meane time, the soul-
...nt of the towse, this Mouse or Manile, was defended by our men
...nt the towre, with weapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the
...nt from the wall and the turrets, so that they could not well de-
...nt. Many of the stones being sapped out of the foundation of the
...nt suddenly fell, & the rest leaned as though it would not stand



Musculum

OBSERVATIONS.

IF Orasimuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadow out the effects of Industrie; I will onely produce the euidence of these workes, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the force of so great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeuouts, one thing drawes on another, according as practise maketh ouerture to maiesties: For, our vnderstanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitive facultie to discern perfection, but by little and little worketh our exactness; making every Morrow, yesterdaies scholler, as reason findeth means of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes.

And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreat of defence, gaue occasion to let them see the like, or better vse thereof in the offensive part, if it were raised to a height conuenient for the same: vvhich they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vse in such a worke. For, hauing made the first storie, they then made the roofoe, for the shelter and safetie of the souldier: and seruing it vp by little and little, they built the sides, hauing fenced the open space with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay against fire, and with Matresseles against stones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Musculum, which gaue them passage to the wall; building it with strong or rather strange timber, of two foote square, framed so artificially with braces, and tidging rafters, and those so fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with immeasurable indeauour.

*Discipulus pri-
us posterior dicit,
Julius Gellius.*

CHAP. V.

The Marfellians got a truce of the Romaines,
and brake it deceitfully.



HE Enemy, being then much appalled at the suddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at so vnexpected a mischiefe; and withall, strooke with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the sack & spoile of their Cittie, they came all unarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and stretching out their submissiue hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which noueltie, all hostilitie ceased for the time, & the souldiers with drawing themselves from the assault, were caried with a desire of hearing and vnderstanding what would passe at that time.

Caesar.

*Inermes cum
infulis.*

When

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they cast themselves all downe at their feete, praying and beseeching that things might be suspended until Caesars arriuall. They saw plainly that their towne was already taken, their works were perished, their owne towre demolished; and therefore they desisted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from present spoile and sacking, if upon Caesars arriuall they should refuse to obey his Mandates. They shewed further, that if their towre were absolutely ouerthrowne, the souldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a final destruction.

These, and many the like things, were uttered by them very movingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: where-by the Legates (moued with commiseration) with-drew the souldiers from the fortifications, put off the assault, and left a small guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pitty and commiseration thus made and concluded, Caesars coming was expected; no weapon was cast, either from the towne wall, or from our side: insomuch, as every man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Caesar had by Letters giuen straight charge to Trebonius, not to iussure the towne to bee taken by assault, least the souldiers (moued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had sustained) should put all aboute foureene yeeres of age to the sword: which they threatened to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne; taking the matter very grieuouly, that Trebonius seemed to hinder them from effecting their purposes. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onelie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*Peñitus, re-
tra corpus, ita
despectu animi.*

11. *Amad.*

* The fire and
the ayre.

T is a saying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, so it doth vncouer the nakedness of the mind. Whereupon it is, that men haue found meanes to sute themselves vpon occasion, according to the disposition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with sorrow, lifted vp with weale, or humbled with affliction. And accordingly, these Martellians, in token of their humilitie & submission, came out, wearing an attire here called *insula*; which Seruius describeth to be a kind of Coife, made after the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each side, called *Pitta*.

Those which the Romans vsed of this kind, were fashioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did signifie the * Elements, ascending vpwards in such a pointed fashion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Festus writeth; *insula sunt filamenta lanae, quibus Sacerdotes, hostia, et templa velabantur*: to shew humbleness and simplicitie, whereof wooll is a Hieroglyphick. For, no kind of beasts haue more need of ayde and succour then Sheepe: and there-vpon it was, that all Suppliants were attired with tresses of wooll. Or otherwise, as some will haue

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-beseeming those that haue power and meanes to giue helpe and reliefe: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherein their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the mildness and easiness which vpon deuote supplications was founde in diuine Powers; whereof wooll was a Symbolum.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Martellians, beeing an ancient progeny of the Greekes, notwithstanding the long descent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in such straines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboute other people, as in subtiltie and duplicite of dealing. Which passage of the Martellians, is obserued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praises of Eloquence; and therewith hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetness of a well tuned tongue, aboute that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. VVherein, if we should goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue discourse, & set a souldier Parallell to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been thought to fauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true iudgement; *Cedant arma toga, concedat laurea lingua*: Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plutarch two VVratellers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuertheless persuade the other that he cast him; and so, howsoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more easily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficacissime vires perfidia, mentiri et fallere*. But, as it is obserued by Philip de Commynes, The example of one sole accident, is sufficient to make manie men wise: so this may serue to teach succeeding times, not to trust to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratifie such compositions with irreuoicable performances.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may note, how farte the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*: to the slaying of all the males aboute foureteen yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, that had assaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertie to wear mans apperrell: which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their histories make so often mention.

But

*Macro. lib. 1.
Saturn. cap. 3.*

*Gressa file om-
nia agere.
Quatuor Pla-
co.
Aequales est v-
triusque deg-
nitas pueri-
tem accipit
Iura conditio-
nibus efficit
et. Tum cum in-
prescedunt, qu-
res, tunc magis
pugnam, sicut
Vulcanus et Pa-
lens statuerunt
L. in ciuibus
C. de offic.
Piscar. P. in
iudicibus causis vi-
sari consuevit
multis antequ-
rentur in mili-
tariibus nece-
ssitates vici-
tudo casus va-
ris vultu ex-
hibere expre-
ssione. Auto.
Perec.*

*Macro. lib. 1.
Saturn. cap. 6.*

But to define precisely heereof, were to mistake the furie of the souldier: for, howsoever the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cause can be infinite in effect; or that a mortal hate should haue a boundlesse reuenges yet occasion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who sometimes saued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) saued none at all, but such as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hostilitie in this kind: for, they neuer faue any out of commiseration, but for priuate vie: and doe rather chuse to destroy mankind, then suffer it to liue for any other purpose then their owne.

Quintus Curt.
lib. 5.

CHAP. VI.

The Marsellians, taking aduantage of the Truce,
consumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which
were afterwards reedified.

Cæsar.



After a few daies, when our men were growne remiss & careless, suddainly about high noone, as some were gone one way some another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen themselves to rest, the weapons being cast and laid up; they rushed out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they set our workes on fire: which was so caried and dispersed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantilets, the Testudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and consumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, astonished at so suddaine and vnthought-of an accident, caught up such weapons as were next at hand; and others, running speedily from the Camp, set upon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrows from the towne wall. They, on the other side, being retired vnder the protection of the wall, did at their ease burne downe the Mount and the brick towre: and so, many months labour, was through the perfidiousness of the Enemy, and the force of the tempest, consumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marsellians attempted the like the next day after, hauing opportunitie of the like tempest, and with greater confidence sallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing lesse then to be surprised in that sort) had neglected more then ordinary their vsmall guards, being now made wiser by that which had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which meanes, hauing slain a great number, they drave the rest backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie such workes as were ruined and consumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the souldier then before.

For,

For, when they saw their great labours and indeuours lost to no better success, being ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall vnto them to haue their valour thus decided. And, forasmuch as there was nothing left in all the Countrey for the raising of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe, and brought farre and neere to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a strange and vneheard-of fashion, raised with two side-walles of bricke, being three foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floors. The walls were of equall distance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide matter: and where the space betweene the walls, or the weaknesse of the work did require it, there were piles driuen betwene, and beames and planks laid athwart for the strengthening thereof. The floors, made betweene those walls, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were covered with clay.

The souldiers being thus belterred, on both sides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did safely, without danger, bring what force was necessary for that building; whereby the worke was caried on with great speed: and the losse of their former continuall labour, was in a short time recovered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the souldier. To conclude, they left gates in the walls, in such places as were fittest for sallies.

Whit the enemy perceived, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished (whereby there was no place left to practise deceit, or to sallie out with aduantage; neither was there any meanes left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to consume our workes; and vnderstanding likewise, that by the same manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had passage and access from the firme land, might be encompassed with a vvall and with towres; that their souldiers should not be able to stand vpon their workes, and perceiuing vwithall, that our Army had raised a countermure, against the wall of their towne; and that our weapons might be cast by hand vnto them; that the use of their Engines (wherein they much trusted) was by the neerenesse of space quite taken away; and lastlie, that they were not able to confront our men (vpon equall tearmes) from their walls, and from their turrets: they descended to the same Articles of rendry and submission, as were formerly agreed vpon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ence wee may obserue, that a Generall cannot bee too secure of an Enemy, that standes vpon tearmes to render vp a place. For, the action being but voluntarie by constraint; if happen the constraining force be remoued, then that doth cease which is voluntarie: and so it cometh by consequent to a refusal. As appeareth by this passage of the Marsellians; who being brought into hard tearmes, as well by their two ouer-throws at Sea (whence they expected

Est ita ut non
etiam in vobis
mors inuoluntaria
sit, quam in
post, ferunt. Et
vident verum
vultus vultus
non respondere
Pauli in alleg.

expected no further succour) as also by the siege laid so close by land (where they were so violently assaulted, that their towers of defence made passage for the Romanes to enter vpon them) did neuerthelesse (vpon cessation of those inforcements) alter their purpose, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that saying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, we may obferue, that a will, forward to undergo labour, doth neuer fticke at any difficultie, nor is at all difmaid with the loffe of anie paines; but is rather redoubled in courage and induftrie; eſpecially being edged on with a defire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans ſtrength, as appeared by Diomedes, being hurt in the ſhoulder with one of Pindarus arrows: for reuenge whereof, he exceeded himſelfe in a ſeſquieſe proportion of valour, and flew more Troians by a third part then otherwiſe he could.

Howfocuser, as there is nothing fo hard, but is subiect to the endeavour of the minde : fo there is nothing fo eafie, as to difpoffels our felues of that intent care, which is requifite in thefe employments. For, thefe Romaines, that through the greatnes of their fpirits had made fuch firft and fecond workes, as the memorie thereof will laft with the world, were furprifed when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbeate, in as great remiffenes and negle& (howfo-euer drauue vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doo fuch matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behooueth a Commandeur, to keepe his Armie alwaies feafoned with labour : forasmuch as *Exercitius labore proficit, otio conefcit.*

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiseth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpose.

Marcus Varro, in the further Province of Spaine, having from the beginning under flood how things had passed in Italie, & disliking how matters would succeed with Pompey, did oftentimes give out very friendly speeches of Caesar; that Pompey had by way of prevention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenantie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular disposition, hee stood no less affected to Caesar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whose trust and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Prouince was left, as in deposite,

upon condition to be rendred up at all times and seasons, as hee that commaunded in chiefe should require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards *Caesar*.

This was the subject of all his speeches, without any shew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Caesar was engaged at Marselles, that Petreus's forces were joyned with Afranius's Army, that great aides were come unto them, that every man was in great hope and expectation of good success; and that all the latter Province had agreed together, to undertake Pompei's cause, as also what had after happened concerning the want of victuals at Ilerda (all which things they were writ, but to advantage, unto him by Afranius) he then upon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and levied soldiers in all parts of the Province: and having raised two complete legions, he added unto them some thirty cohorts of the Countrey souldiers, to serve for wings to the Army: gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the supplye of the Marsellians, as for the provision of Petreus and Afranius.

Moreover, he commanded them of Gades to build and provide twene Gallies; and ordered further, that many other should be made as lightals. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Heracles temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Province to keepe the temple. He made Caius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and sent by him thither to recover some matter of inheritance) Governour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publique) were brought into Gallions house. He himselfe made many bitter invectiues against Calar; affirming, that a great number of the Iuldiuers were reuelled frō him, and were come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approved Messengers.

The Romaine Citizens, residing in that Province, being much perplexed & affrighted thereat, were thereupon constrained to promise him 120 thousand and sequestered in ready money, for the service of the Common-wealth, besides twenty thousand weight of silver, together with one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of Wheate. Upon those Cities and States which favoured Cæsar's party, he laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselves against the Common-wealth, he confiscated all their goods; and put a Gun-vice upon them: giving judgement himselfe upon private persons, & constraining all the Province, to swear allegiance to him and to Pompey.

And being in the end advertised what had happened in the hither Province, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner; His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, with all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the whole Province did intirely affect Cæsars Cause, he thought it best for him (having made good provision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the island.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Blerue first, how dangerous it is, for such as stand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themselves, vpon such apparances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their iudgement faile as Varro did, they are then forced to redeeme their errour, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excused; and so runne into a further degree of enmitie, then the party for whom they suffer. And certainly, whether it bee that newtraltie refuseth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuersie must needs stand on one side) or whether it fauoureth of an ill nature, to shew no sympathizing affections, with such as otherwise haue correspondence with them; or for what other cause I knowe not: but sure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne advantage, are of no better esteeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demanded tribute, would alwaies ranke himselfe amongst the Fish: and when the King of Fishes required his seruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vse then *indicare regnantem*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE Iland of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tarteſſon;

Hic Gadis vrbs est dicta Tarteſſus prius.

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witnesseth, by Iulius Cæſar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; *Oppidum habet Cinium Romanorū, quod appellatur Augusta vrbs Italia Gaditana*. It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious ſure, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Feſtus noteth, in his Deſcription of the Sea-coaſt.

*At via in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate priſca, ſub ſide rerum fuit:
Rex ut ſuperbus omniumque prapotens
Quos gens habebat fortitum Mauruſia,
Oſtaſiano principi acceptiſſimus
Et literarum ſemper in ſtudio Iuba,
Interſuoque ſeparatus Aequore
Illuſtrior ſemet, vrbis iſtius
Duumviro ratu crederet.*

In

Feſtus A-
nienſis.

Lib. xli.

In this Iland ſtoode Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Adventurers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes vpon archieuevements of deedes of Armes: which ſolemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongſt other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie and Art: ſignifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & ſubdued Monſters. Thoſe of Aſia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Iland to be the furtheſt end of navigation: for, the Atlantick ſea admitted no further paſſage, for want of a load-ſtone to direct them in that vaſtneſſe. And therefore Pindarus ſaith, That it is not lawfull for wife men nor ſooles, to know what is beyond the ſtraight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean being 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence *per Pole*; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that writ ſo excellently *De re Ruſtica*.

Et mea quam generat Tarteſi litore Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was ſacked by our Engliſh, 1596.

Hiſpaliſ, ſurnamed Romulenſis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is ſeated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleaſant and fertile Countrey, and eſpecially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the Weſt Indies, and a very Nurſerie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

Toſephus Aco-
ſta hath ob-
ſerued, that the
ſea hath no
part aboute one
thouſand lea-
gues from the
land.

Hiſpaliſ.
Scuill.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Concerning theſe CXC thouſand ſellerres, the learned cannot fa- tisfie themſelues with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x ſhillings apiece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Maſculine, it will riſe not to aboute 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *H-centies nonagies*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Authour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro.
*Cæſar ſettleth Spaine, and returneth
to Marſellies.*



*L*beit Cæſar was called backe into Italie for many great and im- portant cauſes, yet he was reſolued to leaue no ſparke or appea- rance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeiſ deſerts to bee ſuch, as had gained him many fol- lowers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing ſent two legions into the further Spaine, vnder the conduct

Cæſar.

.L 3

conduct of *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the people, he himselfe made forward by great journeys, with sixe hundred horse, sending an Edict before him, to summon the Magistrates, and chiefe men of the Cities and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which Edict, there was no Cittie in all that Province, that sent not some of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that presented not himselfe there at that time.

The Princes and States being assembled, of their owne accord they shut the gates against Varro, set watch and ward upon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of *Colonica* (which came thither by chance) for the safe keeping of the towne. At the selfe same time, the inhabitants of Carmona (which is the strongest towne of all the Province) cast out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and shut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make haste to Gades with his legions, least hee should bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his passage ouer from the Continent: such and so favourable was the generall affection of the whole Province towards Caesar. And being some-what advanced on his iourney, he received Letters from Gades, that as soone as it was known there of the Edict which Caesar had published, the chiefe of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the souldiers which were in Garrison, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Island for Caesar. Which being resolved upon, they sent him word to leaue the towne of his owne accord, while hee might doe it without danger; and if he refused, they would then take such further order as they should find expedient. Gallionius, moued with feare, disordered himselfe and went out of Gades.

These things being ariouged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of *Feroniula*, tooke up their Ensignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himselfe standing by and looking on) and retired themselves to *Ulpalis*; and there site downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, without hurting anie man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there assembled, did so well like of, that euery man was very desirous to entertaine them in their houses. Whereat Varro, being much astonied, altered his iourney, towards *Ulpia Italia*, as hee gaue it out; but soone after was aduertised by some of his friends, that the gates were shut against him. Whereupon, being circumvented and fore-closed from all other addresses, he sent to Caesar, to aduertise him that he was ready to deliuer up the legion, to whomsoever he should please to appoint. To which purpose, he sent him *Sex. Caesar*, commanding the legion to be deliuered to him.

Varro, having giuen up his charge, came to Caesar at Corduba, & there gaue him a true account of the carriage of his office. The moneys remaining in his hands he deliuered up, and gaue an Inventory of the Corne and Shipping which were in any place provided. Caesar, by a publick Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as first to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they used to be Maisters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driving out the Guarrigons: to them of Gades, that they trauesed and prevented the proiects of the aduersaries; & had restored themselves to libertie; to the Tribunes of the souldiers,

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keepe the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the resolution of the townsmen was assured and confirmed. He remitted such leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promised Varro for the publique seruice. He restored the goods confiscated, of such as had spoken more freely then was pleasing; and gaue diuers rewards, both publique and private: the rest he satisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing staid there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the monies and monuments, which were transferred from Hercules temple to a private house, should be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made *Q. Cassius* Governor of the Province, & left with him foure legions. He himselfe, in a few daies space, with those ships which *M. Varro*, and those of Gades (by his commandement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Ambassadors of almost all the hither Province, did attend his coming: and hauing receiued them with private and publique honour, in the same fashion as formerly hee had used, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to *Marcellies*: where he receiued first aduertisement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himselfe was named thereunto, by *M. Lepidus*, Prator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is one of Caesars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any spark or suspicion of warre, least it might be said hee did not thoroughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a businesse to halle, hath as much more to doe before it bee done; and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which first gaue occasion of Armes; like fire, which is smothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therefore, that he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then subdue him, hee neglected all occasions how important soeuer, which might draw him into Italic; to the end he might settle Spain in a peace, answerable to an absolute victorie: Which he easily effected, hauing ouer-mastered the chiefe of the party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether mistaken in the matter. The same whereoffo prevailed with the rest, that rather then they would stand out, they forooke their Commanders. And hauing thus remoued all occasions of force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtfulness, which might accompanie a new reconciliation, by shewing such respects as well becomed ancient desert.

For, first, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular seruices, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted such as were oppressed by the aduerser partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to shew the difference betweene his and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promises, are powerfull instruments to work out whatsoever is desired. And so hee tooke a little more time

time to settle those Provinces without further trouble: as belieuing in the pro-
verbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Mr. Varro here mentioned, made more profession of knowledge
and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon stiled
by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the judgement of learned Phi-
losophers, was fitter to perswade then to teach. Tully, beeing
deprived of publique offices, handled Philosophy a little in his
owne language: Pliny and Seneca, lesse then Varro or Tully. But what are
these to Aristotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Ro-
maine Generall? whose knowledge consisted in their Militarie discipline, and
in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeavours. Wherein Varro was as ig-
norant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleventh King of Arragon, in managing
of Armes; who taking his sword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held
the horse bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were
a good excuse, it were fitting to make him blamelesse, that deserved so well of
learning aboue all others of that Empire. But forasmuch as his actions ap-
peare so farre inferior to that which is conceivd of his vnderstanding, let
that be acknowledged which is true, that *Consideratè agere plaris est, quam co-
gitare prudentè*.

This Tira Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and
is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to stand ouer against Seuill.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon; a Colony of Scipio his plan-
ting, wherof the Province taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie
witnesseth) from Catalonia to Nauarre, and Castile, along the Alpes. Blaise
de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yere 516, there was a Council held at Tar-
raco, by tenne Bishops; wherein it was decreed, that Sunday should alwaies
beginne presentlie after Evening prayer (or their Vespers) on the Saturday.
From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and
deceate vpon Saturdays at supper, the head, the feet and the entralls of such
flesh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they
call *Morsillos*) without prohibition or scruple of conscience. In this towne of
Tarraco, was borne Paulus Osonus, that noble Orator.

Corduba, otherwise called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth &
dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred aboue all the townes
of Spaine; for, here first were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetori-
cian, and the sonne the Philosopher: together with their kinsman, Annæus
Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Marciall writeth;

*Duosque Senecas vnicuique Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.*

Besides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent
a Philosopher, as the other was a Physician: of whose works

Fama

Fama loquetur Annus.

And from hence come those Cordouan skinneres, so much in request.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Concerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæsar was named
by the Prætor Lepidus, we are to obserue, that the Dictatorshippe
was the greatest place of dignitie in their gouernment, as Polibius
noteth. The Consuls, saith hee, hauing each of them but twelue
Lictors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as ensignes of Magi-
stracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power diuided
betweene the two Consuls, was then reduced to one sole commaund. The oc-
casions of establishing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie
to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extra-
ordinarie, and required the commaund of one man. And as it is in the fastest
or records of the Capitoll; either *Reipub. regend: causa*, as was this first Dic-
tatorship of Cæsars: or otherwise, *M. Fabius, Ambustus Dict: seditionis sedan-
dæ causa*: And at another time, *Cn. Quintius Varus Dictator, elauis figendi cau-
sa*: which was one of the superstitions they vsed in time of pestilence, and so
diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; *Si quando
duellu grauius, discordiæ Ciuium crescant vnus ne amplius sex menses, nisi
senatus creuerit, idem iuris quod duo Consules teneto, iisque aue sinistra dictus
Magister Populi esto*.

But, forasmuch as *Magister Populi* was a harsh and odious name to the peo-
ple, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth
this reason, *Dictator quod à Consule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes ef-
fenti*. And as none could name a Dictator but the Consul (for Cæsar was na-
med by the Prætor in an extraordinary time) so none could be named to that
place, but such as were or had been Consuls; *Consulares legere ita lex iube-
bat de Dictatore creando lata*. To which may be added the circumstance of
time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde silentio de mos est Papyri-
um Dictatorem dixit*. The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a
time: which was commonly fixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distin-
guished from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiugeth Sillas Dictator-
ship to be a meere tyranny, and so doth Plutarch Cæsars; because both vvere
protogued beyond the time prescribed by the law. Cæsar held this Dictators
place but eleuen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and
so came to be stiled *Dictator perpetuus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Marsellians giue vp the Towne.

Cesar.

Petere Pa-
nicu.

THE Marsellians being much oppressed, and almost worne out with all sorts of inconueniences, & brought to an extreme exigent of victuall, defeated and overthrowne in two fights at sea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their sallies out, afflicted with a grievous pestilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they liued of nothing but of old rancie and mustie Barly, which was long before laid up in publique for this purpose) their towne being overthrowne, and a great part of their wall downe; out of hope of any succours frō the Proninces, or of other Armes, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Caesar, they seriously determined (without fraude) to giue up the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, vnderstanding their resolution, hauing got three shippes (whereof two hee assigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himselfe, and taking the opportunity of a trouble some storme) put to sea: which being perceived by the shippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Hauen, they voyaged their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithstanding, that, where in Domitius was, held on her course, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of sight. The other two, being afraid of our shippes, returned back into the Hauen.

The Marsellians, according as was commanded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their shipping, both out of their Hauen and their Arsenalls, and deliuered up their publike treasure: which things being accomplished and performed, Caesar, willing to saue them, rather for the Naue and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and sent the rest into Italie. He himselfe tooke his way towards Rome.

OBSERVATIONS.

T. C. cum de
restitutione
m. p. p. p.Domitius
interfuit
interfuit
interfuit

HENCE wee may obserue, that when men refuse to be led by reason, as the best meanes to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly constrained by the commanding warrant of Necessitie, to vnder-goe the same thing vpon harder conditions. As it happened to the Marsellians, who not regarding the Armes then present, and ready to take a strict account of their answers (which with good excuse doth command a newrall State) chose rather to be shut vp with a siege; that of all mileries is accounted the worst: and therein Jo caried themselves, as they left no stone vntremoued to make good their refusal; but for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater disaduan-

disaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or olier motives wanted, there *nomen et vetustas* was sufficient to make Caesar constant to his owne ends: which, as neere as the course wherein he was engaged would afford him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselfe into the fower aintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happy successe; which are euer more restrained then lesser fortunes. Howfoeuer, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: which Caesar shewed in sauing the towne.

In maxima for-
tuna, minima
licentia est.
Salust.Sensare propriis
est excellentia
fortuna. Seneca
de clement. lib. 1.

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into
Affricke.

Cesar.

ABOUT the same time, C. Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affricke: and making no account at all of Attius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the foure which were deliuered him by Caesar, together with five hundred horse. And after he had bene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arrived at a place called *Aquilaria*, distant twenty two miles from Clupea; where there is a very commodious Road for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side with two large and eminent Promontories. L. Caesar, the sonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; which being taken from the Pirats in the late vvarres, and laid aground at Vtica, were repaired and new trimmed by Varus: and being afraid of the great number of his shippes, forsooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leaving her there, fled by land on foote to *Adrumetum*, a towne kept by *Consius Longus*, hauing one legion only in guarizon.

The rest of Caesars Naue, seeing their Admirall sic away, put into *Adrumetum*. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelue shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to vvasst the shippes of burnt then; and finding the Gallie left vpon the sand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Naue. Curio sent Marcus before with the shippes, to Vtica: and he himselfe set forward thither by land with the Arme, and in two daies iourney came to the *Riuier Bragada*; where he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, and went himselfe before with the Cavalry, to view a place called *Cornelius Campe*: which was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, being a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, steepe and broken on each side, and yet shelving by a little more gentle descent, on that side which was next Vtica; being distant from thence (if the neere way were taken) a little more then a mile. But in that horsest out, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest off

--- quae se
Bragada lentius
agit sicca iulian-
tor arenis. Luc.
lib. 4.

off from the sea, and so made a marish or bogge: which whosoever would needs, must seich a compass of sixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view being taken of this place, Curio beheld as farre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; marvailously fortified through the strong situation of the place, hauing the towne on the one side, and a Theater which stood before the towne on the other: and by reason of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult passage to the Campe. Hee observed, further, great store of carriages, which by reason of this suddaine alarm, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he sent the Cavalry. And at the same instant, Varus likewise had sent out of the towne, DC. Numidian horse, and CCC. foote, vnder King Iuba (a few daies before) had sent to Vitica, for the strengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance vwith Pompey, by reason that his father lodged with him, and bare a silence to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiscation of Iuba his kingdome. The Cavalry on either side met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but some one hundred and twenty being slaine, the rest betooke themselves backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arrival of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that such Priuallers, and shippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Vitica (being in number about two hundred) and would not presently come to the Cornelian Campe, should be held and taken for enemies. At which Proclamation, vpon an instant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place whither they were commaunded: vwhereby the Army abounded with all necessarie provisions. This being done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and, by the acclamation of the whole Army, was saluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, containing Curio his passage into Affrick: concerning whom, it is to be observed, that in the beginning of these broiles, no man was more enemy to Cæsar, nor made more bitter inuectiues to the people against him, then he did in his Tribune-shipp; but afterwards fell off, & was giued by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge mass of money which Cæsar sent him, Wherevpon, he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine assailed that Partie; preuailling much with the Cōmunaltie, by his eloquent and perswasive speeches; the lively force whereof, is able to stirre vp affection in stones. For which cause it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of those Ciuill warres, then did Curio; being a man of an excellent discourse, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, subtle, ingenious, extreame vicious, and alwaies well spoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which sweetnesse of words came vnto him by inheritance,

Reuerentior
no, caputur
audire: et
ta. non aua
bellum non
ore puto
feram. lib. 3.
cap. 2.

Lib. 2.

as

as Plinie witnesseth; *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores extiterunt.* Of whose monstrous prodigality, the same Authour hath made a very large account. And out of these ouer-weening humors it was, that he became so vnwarie as to diuide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variableness of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape whereby it may be known. Concerning the dismembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedlesse rashnes, Cyrus giueth graue aduice, in the beginning of the sixth booke of Xenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, *Oppidum liberum*, & sited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it was so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called Aspis:

In Clypei speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

This Promontorie, which Curio chose to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antæus the Giant dwelt, which Hercules slew, by strangling him in his Armes; that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is said, he receiued fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that subdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Curio made, to lose two legions, and himselfe withall; as vnwilling to see the morrow, after such a losse: for, *Vita est audias, quisquis non vult, mūdo se cum perenne, mori.*

Lib. 7. cap. 41.
Lib. 36. cap. 15
P. Cornelius
Scipio est. To-
p. lib. 1. cap.
4. de bello In-
daico.

Sil. Ital.

Seneca Trag.

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to Vitica: his Cavalry put to flight
great troopes coming from king Iuba. His

Armie was strangely possessed with
an idle feare.



HE next day, hee brought his Army to Vitica, and incamped himselfe neere onto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote, coming towards Vitica, from king Iuba: and at the same time, a great dust was seene rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began to come in sight. Curio, astonished at the novelty of the thing, sent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock, and to stay them: he himselfe, calling the legions vwith all speed from their worke, imbatelled his Army. The Cavalry, encountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well vnfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or order; and slew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horse, making haste, got almost

Cæsar.

M.

all

all safe into the towne, by the way of the sea-shore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marsi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their souldiers, to Aتيus Varus.

These Centurions, whether it were to please Varus, or otherwise speaking as they thought for what men wish, they easily belieue, and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the same did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies should come in sight, and find meanes to speake together. Varus, being perswaded to that opinion, the next day, early in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a small Valley which lay betwene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) was at Corninium; and being let goe by Caesar, went into Asfrick. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer those legions, which Caesar had formerly taken at Corninium: so that a few Centurions being slaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the same. This occasion being so fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beseech the souldiers, that they would not forget the first oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treasurer: nor beare Armes against them, that had runne the same fortune, and endured the same siege; nor fight for those, who (by way of reproche) had called them fugitiues. To these hee added some promises, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they would follow him and Aتيus.

Having delivered this vnto them, Curio his Army stood mute, and declared not themselves by any signe, either one way or other: notwithstanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards possessed with a great feare and suspicion: which was quickly augmented, by diuers reports raised vpon the same. For, euery man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added some thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was spread from one author to many, and one had received it from another, it seemed there were many authors of the same thing. For, Ciuill warre is alwaies compounded of such men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they please.

Those legions, which a little before were in the seruice of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace what was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget what benefites Caesar had lately bestowed on them: being also of diuers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marsi or Peligni, as those the night before, which were their Cabin-mates and fellow souldiers: where-vpon, they tooke occasion, to publish abroad in worse termes, that which others had vaine-ly given out; and some things were coined by those, that would seeme most diligent in doing their duty.

THE

Nulla fides p-
casque vitiu qui
casque sequitur
vitalisq; ma-
moris despectu, vbi
maxima metus,
Lacan.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Obserue first, from the reuolt of these Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and fashion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine easie credit to their aduertisements, by averting any thing which the Enemy desireth. Whence it is, that forasmuch as fugitiues can little otherwile auail (one man being but as no man) they seeke fauour and reputation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their aduise and discouerie; and consequently, the remuneration of espiall, which according to the president made by Fabius to the Spies of Clusne, is worth a mans labour.

And herein, Reuolters (specially those of indgement) are very dangerous instruments; not onely in weakening or making frustrate such designses as may be contriued against an Aduerarie: but also in discouering the secrets of their owne Partie, and disclosing of that which is absolute and well, vntill it be made knowne. For, there is no subsisting thing so perfect, but hath alwaies some part or other open, to giue an easie passage to destruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo.

And therefore, it is no small meanes of preserving each thing in being, to make shew of strength, and conceale weaknesses, as the registers of assured ruine: for which cause it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane societie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the secreete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the same.

Lib. lib. 10.

*Fides fundam-
tum societatis
humane: per-
fidia vero ciuili
pestis. Plaut. l. 5.
de legib.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AS there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare: so there is nothing looner bredde to disturb a multitude, then this passion; which metamorphoseth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Thestites is able to leuine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of some Trefantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cause of distrust throughout all the Party: which, as it spreadeth abroad, is so deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not belieuing what he telleth) addeth alwaies some-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himselfe. And so weak mindes doe multiplie the vaine apprehension of idle humours, in such a fashion, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared.

Epaminondas was more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, while hee ledde the Thebans as their Commander, they were neuer taken with any suddaine affrightment, nor posselt with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their senses, or falsifie the truth of their vnderstanding:

M. 2.

being

*The Spartans
called all cow-
ards Trefantas.
Plutarch.*

*Plus in metuen-
do est mali, quàm
in illo ipso quod
timeatur. Cic. ad
Corinthios.*

Plutarch.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall assembly of the souldiers;
and speaketh vnto them, concerning their
feare, and retraction.

Cesar.



THE Councell being risen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie, and there called to remembrance what they had done for Caesar, at Corfinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greatest part of Italie, to bee on his side. For, by you (saith hee) and by your indeauour, all the rest of the Iunnicipall townes, were drawne to follow Caesar: and therefore, not without iust cause did hee at that time repose great assurance in your affections towards him; and the aduerser partie conceived as great indignation and spight against you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but being preiudiced by your act hee quitted Italy. Caesar hath recommended me, whom he held neer vnto himselfe, together with the Provinces of Sicily and Africk (without which he cannot defend the Citty and Italy) to your trust and fidelitie. There are some which sollicite and perswade you to reuolt from my command: for, what can they wish or desire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrowe, and to ingage you in a most detestable wickednes? Or what worse opinion can they conceive of you, then that you should betray them, that professe themselves wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, who take themselves undone by your meanes?

Haue you not vnderstood what Caesar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Provinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Those, whose forces were not able to make resistance when they were whole & entire, how is it possible they should hold out, being beaten and discomfited? You that followed Caesar when the victory stood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adiudged the Cause, and determined of the issue of the Warre, will you follow the vanquished Partie? They gaue out, that they were forsaken and betrayed by you, and doe remember you of the former oath youooke: but did you forsake L. Cornilius, or did he forsake you? Did not he thrust you out, and expose you to all extremity of fortune? Did hee not seeke to saue himselfe by flight, without your knowledge or prinitie? Were you not preferred and kept alive by Caesars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betrayed by him?

How could he tie you with the oath of allegiance, when (hauing cast away his sheafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himselfe was made a private person, and became captinated to the command of another mans power? It were a strange and new religion, that you should neglect that oath, wherein you stand now ingaged, and respect the other, which was taken away by the rendry

Non possumus
autem pro se
ipsum meum
ad idem extra-
tati. Domitij.

of your Generall, and the *losse of your libertie. But I beleue you thinke well of Caesar, and are offended at mee, that am not to preach of my merits towards you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are unworthy your expectation: & yet souldiers haue alwaies vsed to seeke reward vpon the shutting up of a war; which what euent it will haue, make you no doubt. And why should I omit the diligence which I haue already vsed, and how the busines hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, without losse of any one shippe? That at my coming, I beat and disperfed at the first onset the whole slecte of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, I overcame them onely with the Canallrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extremity, that they can be supplied by provision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commanders reiected and forsaken? which would rather imbrace the ignominie you receined at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering up of Spaine, or the preiudiciall successe of the vvarre of Africke. Truly, for mine owne part, I was desirous and content to be called Caesars souldier; but you haue stiled me with the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, restore mee to my name againe; least you should seeme to giue me honour which might turne to my reproche.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be observed, betwene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuocation of the souldiers. The first was more particular, consisting of some choice men, and those the most eminent in the partie; *Is qui non vniuersum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed concilium edicere debet.* Their conuocation or preaching was more generall, the whole Armie being conuened together, to be fitted by perswasion and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called *Adlocutio*, and sometimes *Conuentus*: *Cicero perleham Epistolam Caesaris in conuentu militum recitat.* The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely consulted; and now and then the Centurions of the first Orders, together with the Captaines of horse, were called to their assistance: and oftentimes, all the Centurions. But howsoeuer, Curio resolved out of his owne iudgement, as great Commanders commonly doe; and is specially observed by Pierre Matthien, of the French King: who euer loeth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

* Capituli dimi-
nutione.
Diminutus ca-
pituli appetitus,
qui custodie mu-
tatur esset, ut ex-
positum in aliam
adlocutio: et
qui liber alteri
manipulo datus
esset: et qui in ha-
bitum castelle
venit: et cui a-
qua quingue in-
terdictum. Liv.
In summo Im-
peratore qua-
ritur haec virtutes
in se debent:
honoris rei ma-
gis, virtutis,
authoritas, felici-
tatis. Cicero pro
leg. Manilia.

Aulus Gell. lib.
15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. lib.
Gall.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Amongst other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not stand without Sicilie; and the reason was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, untill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, rather then in the sunne: by means whereof, it yieldeth so exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any poynt Wheate; especially, for that it will keepe long in their Vayes and Caves vnder the earth, and sildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it selfe so hard and dry.

The gluttonous vie of flesh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderstood; for, their legions neuer fedde on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopia subsidium*, saith Caesar. And in another place; *Vt complures dies militis frumento caruerint, Pecore è longinquioribus vicis adactò extremam famem sustulerant*. And in the same place, *Quo minor erat frumenti copia, Pecus imperabat*. And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant*. *Pecus verò, cuius rei summa erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant*.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doublelesse a firmer nutriment, lesse excrementall, & of better strength, then any other foode what-so-euer; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vite*, is as well made of Wheate, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Warriours of a grosse and heauie constitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine souldier stood in need of an effectull and sinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mulet than a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heare then belieue, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of flesh; making no difference between a man & a beaste, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruite before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tendernesse and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Caniballs, vpon the first discouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, fo friend, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out alive, to be made meate for monstrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betweene the sobrietie of the auncient Romaine souldier, and the gluttony of these times: farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hardly, from this elaborated and well-couched speech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commanders; besides the vse it hath, to leade a multitude to such ends as is wished: for, smooth words preuaile where force booteth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cum populum persuaderi posse diffidimus, cogi fas esse non arbitremur*.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth Varus Army to flight.



HE souldiers, mooned with this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his speech; signifying with what grieft they did indure the suspicion of infidelitie. And as hee departed from the Assembly, every man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of gining battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolved (out of a generall consent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to giue battell.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbatteled them in the same place where he stood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, whether it were to solícite the souldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be afforded in an indifferent place. There was a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betweene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expected who should first come over it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a suddaine, all Varus Cavalry that stood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together with the light armed souldiers that stood mingled amongst them, were seene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Cavalrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horsemen were not able to indure the first encounter of our men; but hauing lost their horses, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out with them, being left and forsaken, were all slaine by our men in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilus, Caesars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of vvarre, had brought with him out of Sicily) said; Curio, thou seest the Enemy: why makest thou doubt to vse the opportunitie of time? Curio, without making any other answer, then willing the souldiers to remember what they had assured vnto him the day before, commanded them to follow him, & ran for most himselfe. The Valley was so comber some and difficult, that in gaining the

Eloquētia principibus maxime ornamentum est. Cic. 4. de finibus. Lib. 4. famil. Epist.

Caesar.

Lib. 1. ciuill. lib. 3.

Meli. Mariani.

Salustianus, quod sine elocutione.

Homer. Illiad. 1.

the ascent of the hill, the foremost could hardly get up, vnlesse they were lifted up by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was so possessed with feare, for the flight & slaughter of their fellows, that they did not so much as think of resisting, for, they tooke themselves all to be already surprised by the Cavalrie: so that before any vvorapon could be cast, or that our men could approche neere vnto them, all Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine souldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) hauing overtaken the first troope of them that fledde, sought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had beene one of his owne souldiers, and would either aduise him, or say some-thing else to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and stood still (inquiring vwho hee was, & what he would?) he made at Varus shoulder (which was vnarmed) with his sword, and was very neere killing him; howbeit, he auoided the danger, by receiuing the blowe vpon his target. Fabius was instantly inclosed about, by such souldiers as were neere at hand, and slaine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe were pestered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of such as fledde away; and the passage was so stopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then perished either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither wanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running until they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their access: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted such necessities as were of use for the taking of the Campe. And therefore Curio caried backe his Army, with the losse of no one man but Fabius. Of the Adversaries were slaine and wounded about sixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, besides many other that fained themselves hurt, left the Campe for feare, and went into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing also the astonishment of the Armies, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for shew, about the third watch, he caried his Armie with silence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is a part of wisdom, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies rashness, and to see if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vse: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, vntill the Cavalrie of the Adversarie were loosely fallen into the Valley; and then set vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The fight whereof, masked the whole Armie, & kept Curio in safetie, vpon the like disadvantage, in the comberfome passage of the same Vale: by means whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great slaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that trick of a Romaine spirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to posteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the sacrifice for both the Hostes. Whence we may obserue, that when a battell is ioynd pell-mell, no

It is a part of wisdom, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies rashness, and to see if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe.

man

man can be assured in his owne valour, nor share out his fortune by the length of his sword; but is often-times subiect to weaknesse of contempt, and vanquished by such as cannot be compared vnto him but in scorn.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Eureux, *Maturine* (that knowne woman in France) tooke prisoner & disarmed a Cavalero of Spaine; Who being brought before the King, and by him demanded whole prisoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Answered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Whereat the king smiled: and the Gentleman, vnderstanding what fortune he had run, was as much diminished as a man possible could be, that considered, *Quod ferrum aquat in bello, robustioribus imbecilliores.*

Zenoph. lib. 7. Gryope.

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king Iuba: his Cavalrie ouerthroweth the forces led by Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.



HE next day, Curio prepared to besiege Vtica, inclosing it about with a ditch and a rampier. There were in the towne, a multitude of people vnacquainted with vwarre, through the long peace they had inioyed: and the inhabitants stood very affectionate to Caesar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The rest of the multitude consisted of diuers sorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former encounters: wherevpon, every man spake plainly of giuing up the towne; and dealt with Pub. Atrius, that their fortunes and liues might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and wilfulness.

While these things were adooing, there came messengers from King Iuba, signifying the King was at hand with great forces, and willed them to keepe and defend the towne: which newes, did much encourage and confirme the vvanering and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The same was also reported to Curio: wherevnto for a while he gave no credit; such was his confidence in the successe of things. And now withall, came Letters and Messengers into Affrick, of that which Caesar had so fortunately achieved in Spaine: and being absolutely assured with all these things, he was perswaded the king durst attempt nothing against him. But when he found by assured discovery, that his forces were within twenty fiew miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he with-drew himselfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortifie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouisions, and to furnish it with all necessities materiall for a defence: and sent presently a dispatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the rest of the Cavalry might be sent vnto him.

The

The Campe where in he lay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the warre, as well by reason of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof, the neerenesse of the sea, and the plenty of water and salt; whereof there was great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No stuffe could be wanting, through the great store of wood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the adjoining fieldes: and there-upon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio resolved to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

These things being thus disposed, by the consent & liking of all men, he heard by some that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occasion of a warre happened vnder the confines: and that by reason of the controuersies and dissensions of the Leptitani, he was detained at home in his kingdome; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was sent with some competent forces, and was not farre from Vrica. To which reports, giuing too light and easie credit, he altered his purpose, and resolved to put the matter to triall of battell: where-vnto his youthfull heate, the greatnes of his courage, the successe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that warre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with these inducements, he sent the first night all the Cavalry to the Riner Bragada, where the Enemy lay incamped vnder the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within sixe miles, or there-about.

The horsemen sent before, and making their iourney in the night, set vpon the Enemy at vnawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, scattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any gouernment or order. And surprizing them thus, oppressed with sleepe, and scattered vpon the ground, they slew a great number of them: the rest, in great terror & amasement, escaped by flight. Which seruice, being thus executed, the Canalarie returned to Curio and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out, about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, having left five cohorts for a garrison to his Campe: and having marched sixe miles, he met with the Canalarie, vnder good what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadam? They answered, Sabura. Omitting for haste of his way to informe himselfe of the rest: but turning himselfe to the next Ensignes, said; You see soldiers that the confession of the captiues doe agree, with that which was reported by the fugitiues. For the king is not come, but hath sent some small forces, which cannot make their partye good with a few horsemen: and therefore, haften to take the spoile with honour and renowne; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

Callitridates qui
Lacedaemoniorum
dux fuisse bello
Peloponnesiaco,
undeque egerit
egressus, verum
ad extremam
amnia.
Cleodrotus, te-
mere cum Ipsi-
monanda consi-
gens, Lacedae-
moniorum opes
corruerunt.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

It is obserued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his spirit groweth so dull and benumbed, as his senses seeme to be dismissed of their charges. Which appeared here in Curio: who, hauing taken a proud and sure course, such as was approued in euery mans iudgement, and beleemed well the wisdom of a Commander, did neuertheless, contrarie to all sense and discretion, forgoe the same; and cast himselfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainly reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that Incredulitie is hurtfull only to the vnbelieuer; so this passage proueth, that for a Commander to bee too light of beliefe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Caesar, in the relation hereof, noteth three speciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this disaster, and may serue as markes to auoid the like Syrtes.

The first, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with strong affections, futing the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of strength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth slowly and coldly forward, and is alwaies surer in vnder-taking, then hot-spurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold blood could better aduize then Curio, or fore-see with better providence: yet his youthfull boldnesse, ouer-swaied his discourse; and drew all to a mischiefe, in despite of his wisdom.

The second, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy issue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be suspected, and needeth Gods assistance more then any other fortune; for that no man sooner erreth, or is more vncauple of order, then such as are in prosperitie. And therefore, Plato refused to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happinesse. And doublets, such is the exorbitancie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then crosses: which are as instructions and warnings, for the preventing of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to cast him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, the had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue giuen him much good together, and referue an irrecoverable disgrace for the vpp-shoot.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerende*: which sauoureth more of follic then any of the former; being alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to assure himselfe of good fortune: for, Presumption, being euer accompanied with Negligence, is subiect to as many casualties, as thole that goe vnarmed vpon extremitie of danger. And these were the three things that mis-caried Curio. Out of which we may obserue with Xenophon, that *Iugens et arduum opus est rectè imperare*.

Videmus ipsi
quodam, manus
ingentibus le-
gis, beletari in-
fens hominum et
obstant. Ann.
Marcelli.

Soli incredulis
noxia res incre-
dulus. Philo.
de vit. Mofis.

Holoties qui
acutiores re-
plurimū melius
remoueb. admi-
nistrant. Thuci-
dides.

Rebus secundu
maximè deus
imprudenti.
Lib. 1. Cyropa.
Feliciter et
moderatiori
dudati contra-
bernium. Sen.

...quem blanda
ntus,
Diceretur melius
belli fortune re-
cept. Luc. lib. 4.

Imprudens
fiduciam si forte-
nam sibi sponde-
re. Seneca de be-
neficijs.
Lucanus semper
vnum presump-
tio et sua negli-
gens. Egeij.
Lib. 1. de Insti-
Cyri.

N.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio pursueth the Enemy, with more
haste then good successe.

Cæsar.

That which the Cavalrie had exploited, was certainlie a matter of great seruice; especially the small number of them, being compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithstanding, they spake of these things, with greater ostentation then the truth would beare; as men are willing to divulge their owne praises. Besides, they shewed much spoile which they had taken: Captives and horses were brought out, that what soeuer time was omitted, seemed to be a let and hinderance to the victory; by which means, the desires and inducements of the Souldiers, were no way short of the hope which Curio had conceived. Who, commanding the Cavalry to follow him, marched forward with as much haste as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy distracted and astonished, at the sight and overthrow of their fellows: but the horsemen, hauing travelled all night, could by no means follow after. Whereby it happened, that some staid in one place, some in another: yet this did not hinder or discourage Curio in his hopes.

Ins, being aduertised by Sabura of the conflict in the night, sent instantlie two thousand Spanish and French horse, which he kept about him for the safetie of his Person, and such of the foote-troopes as he most trusted to succour and relieue him: hec himselfe, with the rest of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed softly after. Sabura, suspecting by the horsemen comming before, that Curio himselfe was at hand, unbattelled all his forces; commanding them, that vnder a pretence of counterfeit feare, they should retreat by little and little: himselfe, when occasion served, would giue them the signe of battell; with such other directions as should be expedient.

Curio was strengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the present occasion. For, supposing the Enemy hid selfe, hec drew his forces from the upper ground into the Plaine; where, after he had marched a good space (the Army hauing traualled sixteen mile) hec made a stand. Sabura gaue the signe to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, vnto about his troopes, to exhort and courage his Souldiers: Howbeit, he used his foot-men onely for a few a farre off, and sent the Cavalrie to giue the charge. Curio was not wanting to his men; but wished them to set all their confidence in their valour. The Souldiers, how soeuer harried and wearied, and the horsemen (although but a verie few, and those pent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or desire to fight. But these being but two hundred in number (for the rest staid by the way) what part of the Army soeuer they charged, they forced the Enemy to giue way: but they could neither follow them farre as they ledde, nor put their horses to any round or long curriere.

At

At length, the Cavalrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumuent our Army, and to maul them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesse) did easily auoid the stocke; and againe, as they turned backe to their ranks, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselves out, and vnder-goe the hazard of aduenture.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euerie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distracted: for, so there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despair and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shall be so pent with labour, as they are altogether vnfit for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disadvantage, to encounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-lay the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarre, to be directed to an overthrow: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor; *Satis celeriter fit, quicquid commodè geritur.*

Thucid. lib. 7.

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine: Some few of the Ar-
mie get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld
themselves to Varus.

THE Enemy was oftentimes reinforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainted through wearines: such as were wounded, could neither leaue the battell, nor be conuained into a place of safetie. The whole Army, being encompassed about with the Cavalrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safety, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented their owne death, or recommended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation.

Cæsar.

N 2.

Curio,

Curio, when he perceived the ſouldiers to be ſo affrighted, that they gave care neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the laſt hope they had of ſafety) that they ſhould all ſlie vnto the next hills, and thither hee commanded the Enſignes to be caried. But the Cavalrie, ſent by Sabura, had alſo preoccupied that place; whereby our men began to fall into vtter deſpaire, and partly were ſlaine as they fled by the horſemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horſe, ſtanding with a few horſemen about him, perſwaded Curio to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and to get the Campe promiſing not to leaue or forſake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would neuer come in Ceſars fight, hauing loſt the Army committed vnto him; and there-vpon, fighting valiantly, was ſlaine.

A few horſemen ſaued themſelues from the furie of the battell; but ſuch of the Rereward, as ſtaied by the way to reſreſh their horſes, perceiving a ſarre off, the rout and flight of the vvhole Army, returned ſafe into the Campe. The footmen were all ſlaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treafurer, being left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be diſcouraged. They praised and beſought him, they might be tranſported into Sicily. Hee promiſed th̄ they ſhould, and to that end gave order to the Maſters of ſhippes, that the next evening they ſhould bring all the Skiffes to the ſhore. But ſuch was the aſtoniſhment and terror of all men, that ſome gave out, that Iuba his forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand vwith the legions; and that they ſaw the duſt of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no ſuch matter at all. Others, ſuſpected the Enemies Naue would ſpeedily make to them; inſomuch as euery man ſhifted for himſelfe: ſuch as were already on ſhip-board, made haſte to be gone. Their departure, gave occaſion to the ſhips of burthen to follow after.

A few ſmall Barks were obedient to the command: but the ſhore being thronged vwith ſouldiers, ſuch was the contention, which of all that multitude ſhould get aboard, that ſome of the Barkes were ſunke with preace of people, & the reſt, for feare of the like caſualtie, durſt not come neere them. Whereby it happened, that a few ſouldiers, and Maſters of families (that through fauour or pittie preailed, or could ſwim vnto the ſhippes) were caried backe, ſafe, into Sicily. The reſt of the forces, ſending by night ſome of the Centurions as Embaſſadours to Varus, rendered themſelues vnto him.

The next day after, Iuba ſeeing the Cohorts of theſe ſouldiers before the towne, cried out preſently, that they were part of his booty: and there-vpon gave order, that a great number of the ſhould be ſlaine; and, ſeleſting a few out of the reſt, ſent them into his kingdome: Varus complaining in the meane while, that his ſuith and promiſe was violated, and yet durſt not reſiſt it. The King rode in to the towne attended with many Senators, amongſt who was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Cinnabſſus: and remaining there a few daies, gave ſuch order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



ND this was the period which Diuine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's deſigne vpon Affrick; & happened ſo ſuddenlie, as they were loſt ere they were aware: Like a tempeſt at Sea; that ſwalloweth vp veſſels in the ſame place, where a little before they ſwam moſt proudly, and in the like irrecoverable manner. For, warre is not capable of a ſecond error; one fault being enough to ruine an Armie, and to diſable Curio for cuer doing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

*Hand aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta ſequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt ſecula, poſquam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda ſaculæ,
Tranſuerſo mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentumque fuit matatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus ſpolijs et Ceſaris Auro.*

His bodie lay vnburied, as a witneſs of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreme, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for rendering an Ediſt to the people, to conſiſquet his kingdome.

To conclude this Commentary: The loſſe either Partie ſuſtained vnto this ſtage of the Warre, was in theſe particulars: Pompey was driven out of Italie, loſt Martelleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Ceſar receiued this loſſe in Affrick, beſides that in the Adriatick ſea, where Antonius miſcaried, where-of he maketh no mention in theſe Cōmentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; ſo the fortune of theſe Parties being weighed, by the relation made thereof, it ſaileth plainly out, that Pompey had the worle.

And thus endeth the ſecond Commentary.



N 3.

THE

*Latine hunc nomina rebou creſcendi poſſere modum. Lucan.
Eodem ubi lauerunt nauigia forbeant.
Seneca Epiſt. 4.
Nō eſt in bello hic peccare. Plutarch.*

Nullo contentur Curio luſſo.

Homer. Iliad. 8.

THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuill Warres.

(. . .)

THE ARGUMENT.

THE former Bookes, containe the drifts and designs which these famous Cheefes attempted, and prolecutted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the iudgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Cæsars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit and Vsury, and other things.


CÆSAR the Dictator, holding the assembly for election of Magistrates; Julius Cæsar, and Pub. Seruilus were created Consulles: for, in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen there-vnto. These things beeing ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit was very scant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon trust, was not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they were valued before the vvarre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as well for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon vvarres and ciuill broiles) as also for the keeping and preserving of the Debtors credit.

Cæsar.

In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appeale, made by the Prætors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses used, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Citie) and likewise reformed such iudgements in sutes and trials of law, as were giuen in Cases, vwhen the matter in controuersie was heard by one Iudge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Iudge. Last of all, vwhere-as diuers stood condemned, for offering their seruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuill vwarre, if he should thinke it fit to accept thereof:

thereof: and holding himselfe as much obliged unto them, as if he had used it, he thought it best expedient for this, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandement & authority: least hee should either seeme vngatefull, in not acknowledging their desert; or arrogant, in assuming to himselfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Aesar, as he was Dictator holding the assembly for the choice of Magistrates; himselfe, with P. Serulius Iseauricus, were made Consuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iust tenne yeeres after his first Consulshippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law published by Sylla; wherein it was provided, That no man should be chosen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had supplied the same. In this yeere, happened all these things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Paternus noeth in these words;

C. Aesar, and P. Serulius beeing Consuls, Pompey was miserably massacred, after three Consulships, and three Triumphes; and was slaine, the day before his birth day, being aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regular: the first of Ianuary: and the Assembly was called *Comitium Centuriatum*.

Touching the difference of these Assemblies, the parties present thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumstances appertaining, the Reader may receive information at large, by Roscius. Onely it is to be remembered, that *Comitia Centuriata* were neuer holden without consent of the Senate. And forasmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

— *maerentia testis*

*Caesar habet, vacuæque domos, legi que silentes:
Claustraque insitio tristis fora. Curia solas
Illa videt Patres, plena quos urbs fugauit.*

The Persons, that were futers for the Consulshippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes used extraordinarie meanes to attaine the same: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man should sue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courses, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the same was set on foote, *Anno Vrb. 395*, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, *Anno 572*: and within a while after, made capital, as farre as banishment concerned the partie. Coponius was so condemned, hauing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very strict, as Dio noeth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witnesses, the Process should end in a day, giuing the Accused two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make answer: and the Iudgement instantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Aesar here reformed.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE second thing I obserue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæsar expresseth in these tearmes: *Cum fides tota Italia esset angustior*. The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a reall performance of any promise or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iustice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum*. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipsam videtur habere cum fit, quod dicitur*. And for that Men commonly are couenant keepers, not so much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictness of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and consequently, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because *Silent leges inter arma*.

Cæsar, to provide for this inconuenience, appointed Commissioners to rate euery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, and to satisfie the Creditors with the same. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner: That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the renewe of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselves: and that the Debtors should haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a president in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Liuius; *Novi Consules sanebrem quoque rem leuare aggressi, solutionem aris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viri creati, quos mensarios, ab dispensatione pecunie appellarunt*.

This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called *Nona Tabula*: In this respect, as Cælius Rodiginus hath it, *Quòd cum pecunie creditæ oberratis condonantur, nona mos cooruntur Tabula, quibus nomina continentur nona*: and is nothing else, then what is ordinat amongst our Bankrupts, compounding for so much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new assurance, and other securitie, which they called *Nona Tabula*; agreeing to that of Tullie: *Tabula verò nona quid habent argumenti, nisi ut emas mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam*.

Concerning matter of Vsurie, which was the ground of this mischief, Tacitus noeth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the cause of many seditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aspicke: which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie slumber; and in a short time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And there-vpon, it is called *Fœnus a fœtu*, from the fertile and ample increase of money. For, as Basil noeth, The Labourer loseth the seed, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increase: but the Vsurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not lose the seed. Whereby there must needs growe great increase. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vnciaro fœnore amplius exerceat*.

And is vnderstood for one in the hundred. The highest rate was *Centesima vsura*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Lib. 1. offic.
Nec enim vlla
res relementum
rempub. citant
quam fides.
Lib. 2. offic.

to the life of
Iulius Cæsar.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7.

2. offic.

Pecus vbi fœ-
nere malum, et
seditionum dis-
cordiarumque
rederma cau-
sa. Ant. 6.

Lib. 6. de Co-
mpositis.

Lib. 5.

Anno Vrb. 701.

Lib. 7.
Lib. 7.

*Four egallon
and a halfe.
Plu. li. 35. c. 12
Lib. 39.

Creditor, and was twelve *per Cent.* The next was *usura deunx*, when the Debtor paid eleven in the hundred for a yeere. The third *Dextans*, which was *x. per Cent.* *Dodrans ix. Bes vij. Septunx usura, vij. Semis vi. Quincunce v. Tricens iij. Quadrans iij. Sextans ij. Fanciaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Ca- to condemned all kind of usury: for, being demanded, *Quid maxime in refamiliari expediret? respondit bene pascere: quid secundum? satis bene pascere? quid tertium? bene vestire: quid quartum? arare: et cum ille qui quaesierat dixisset, Quid sanerari? Quid hominē inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it seemeth) no means of getting money, but those which Aristotle tooke to be most agreeing to Nature: which is from the fruits of the earth, and the increale of our cattell; with such other courses as are aunswerable thereto.

Tull. 2. offic.

Perennis quae-
pud deum, na-
turae constantia
pura cumulus est
fructibus et a-
nimilibus. de
repub. lib. 1.
cap. 10.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.



CIN the accomplishing of these things, as also celebrating the Latine Holidiaes, and holding the Assemblies of the people, having spent eleven daies, he gaue over his Dictatorship, left the Cittie, and came to Brundisium. For, he had commanded seauen legions, and all his Canallrie to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more shipping ready, then would hardly transport fiftene thousand legionary souldiers, and five hundred horse; the want whereof, seemed to hinder him from bringing the warre to a speedy end. Moreover, those forces which were shipped, were but weak; in regard that many of them were lost in the warres of Galia, and lessened likewise by their long iourney out of Spaine: besides that, the unwholsome Autumne in Apulia, and about Brundisium, had made the whole Army ill disposed; being newly come out of the sweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, having had a yeeres space to provide himselfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Navy out of Asia, from the Cyclad Iles, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Egypt; and had caused another as great a fleet to bee built in all places fit for that purpose, had raised great summes of money out of Asia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Dynasties, Tetrarches, and free States of Achaia; and had likewise compelled the Corporations of those Provinces to contribute the like sum. He had inrolled nine legions of Romaine Cittizens; five which he had transported out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which being compounded and made of two, he called the Twin) one out of Crete and Macedonia, old souldiers, who being discharged by former Generalls, had resided in those Provinces; two out of Asia, which Lentulus the Consull had caused to be inrolled: besides, he had distributed amongst these legions; under the name of a supply, a great number of Thessaly, Bawtia, Achaia, and Egyptus.

Amongst

Gemelli.

Cesar.

Amongst these, he had mingled Antonies souldiers: and besides these, he expected to be brought by Scipio out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Croatia, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the rest of the Citties, he had three thousand; six cohorts of Slingers; two Mercenary, & seauen thousand horse. Whereof Deiotarus had brought six hundred Gallis; Ariobarzenes five hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had sent the like number, under the leading of his sonne Sasalis. From Macedonia came two hundred, commanded by Rasipolis; a Captaine of great fame and verue. From Alexandria came five hundred, part Galls, & part Germanes; which A. Gabinus had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the sonne, had brought with the Nauie, eight hundred of his shepheards and seruants. Tarcondarins, Castor, & Donilaus, had sent three hundred out of Gallogracia; of whom, one came himselfe, and the other sent his sonne. Two hundred were sent out of Syria, by Comagenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had presented with great gifts: most of which were Arbalistriers on horsebacke.

To these were added Dardanes, besides partly for pay and entertainment, and partly got by command or fauour; besides Macedonians, the Thessalians, & diuers other Nations and Citties: inasmuch as he filled up the number formerly spoken of. He provided great quantity of Corne out of Thessaly, Asia, Crete, Cyprenia, & the rest of those Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the maritime townes, to keepe Caesar from passing the Sea: and to that end, he had laid and disposed his Nauie all along the Sea-coast. Pompey the son, was Admirall of the Egyptian shippes; and Lelius Triarius, of those that came out of Asia. Cassius commanded them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the shippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octavianus, had charge of the Achaian Nauie: Howbeit, M. Bibulus commanded in chiefe in all sea causes; and to him was left the superintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



CONCERNING these Latine Ferie, it is to be noted, that the Romaines had two sorts of Ferie, or Holy-daies: the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and there-vpon were called *Anniverfarij*. The other, *Conceptive*; which were arbitrarie, and solemnized vpon such daies, as the Magistrates & Priests thought most expedient, whereof these Latine Ferie were chiefe; and were kept on Mount Albano, to Iupiter Lator, for the health and preservation of all the Latine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome; and were solemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene those two Nations: during which least, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The sacrifice was a white Bull, kild and offered by the Consulls, and the flesh distributed to the inhabitants of Latium: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance betweene them; engrauen for a perpetual memory, in a Column of brasse. The particulars whereof, are exprest at large, by Dionisius Halicarnassensis.

Latine Ferie.

Lib. 3. de An-
tiqu. Roma.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, besides the supplies here particularly mentioned, sent from such as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-score thousand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the stroke of Warre.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

In which Murther, were the souldiers of C. Antonius; whose misfortune these Commentaries haue either willingly forgot, or some other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæsar hauing sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-sea, the one tooke hold of the coast of Slaunonia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a suddaine came Octavius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their shippes) surprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was constrained to yeeld vp fiftene Companies, which were these souldiers of Antonius here mentioned.

Asiam. lib. 4.

Rasclipolis, or Rasclipolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Rasclus tooke himselfe to Cæsar, vpon an appointment made betwene themselves: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in opposition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themselves; as the best approued part of Newtrallitie: And held likewise the same course, in the warre betwene Brutus and Octavius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the issue whereof, Rasclus demaunded no other reward for his seruice, then the life of his brother: which was casilie graunted.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Consull with Cæsar, in the yeer of Rome 694: but Cæsar so out-strippt him in the managing of things, that he much suspected himselfe, as insufficient for the place: which made him keepe his house all that yeere. Whereupon came this Distich;

*Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth ouer into Greece, returneth his shipping to Brundisium. Octavius besiegeth Salones.

Cæsar.



æsar, vpon his arrivall at Brundisium, called the souldiers together; and shewed them, that forasmuch as they were almost come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leaue willingly behind them their seruants and carriages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of those incumbrments; to the

The end, the greater number of souldiers might be taken in; and that they should expect the supplie of all these things, from victorie, & his liberality. Every man cried out, That he should command what he would, and they would willingly obey it.

The second of the Nones of Ianuary, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly shewed) shipped seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceranium, hauing got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (which he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrasalus: and there arrivring in safetie with all his shippes, he landed his souldiers.

At the same time, Lucrecius Vispillo, and Minutius Rufus (by order from Lælius) were at Orick, with eightene shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durst come out of the Port, although Cæsar had not in all aboue twelue shippes of warre, to waite him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarcked. Neither could Bibulus come soone enough, his shippes being vnready, and his Mariners ashore; for that Cæsar was desired neere the Continent, before there was any bruite of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers being landed, hee sent backe the same night the shipping to Brundisium; that the other legions, and the Cavalrie, might be brought ouer.

Fufius Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this seruice, and was to vse all celeritie in transporting ouer the legions: but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus being certified at Corfew of Cæsars arrivall, and hoping to meete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundisium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceiued through griefe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Masters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This being done, hee possesst all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and men of warre, appointing guardes with more diligence then formerly hath been vsed. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cæsar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octavius, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew Isca from Cæsars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatnings, he resolved to besiege the Towne. The Place was strong by nature, through the aduantage of a hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of wood to fortifie it within: but finding themselves too weake to make resistance (being vwearied out and bent with wounding) they sell at length to the last refuse of all: which was, to enfranchise all their bond-slaves, aboue the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof.

O.

Their

Their resolution being knowne, Octavius incompassed the towne about with fine Campes: and at one instant of time, beganne to force them by siege, and by assault. They, being resolved to vnder-goe all extremities, were much pressed through want of Corne; and there-upon, sending Messengers to Caesar, sought helpe of him: other inconveniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, when the continuance of the siege, had made the Octavius remisse and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy was retired aside, and placing their children and women on the wall, that nothing might seeme omitted of that which was usuall) they themselves, together with such as they had lately enfranchized, brake into the next Campe onto the Towne. Which being taken, with the same violence they set upon another, and then upon the third, and so upon the fourth, and in the end, upon the fift; driving the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, having slaine a great number, they forced Octavius, and the rest remaining, to betake them to their ships; and so the siege ended. For, Octavius, despairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and having received such losses, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

It hath beene generally conceived, that there is little or no vse of women in times of warre; but that they are a burthen to such as seek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better sute the licentiousnesse of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an instance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, sighes, & prayers, to with-draw Hector from those valorous exploits, which hee vnder-tooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wished to handle the distaffe and the spindle; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakenesse of their Sex.

— colūmque
Iape cum calathis, et flamina pollice torque:
Bella relinque viris.

Neuerthelesse, it cannot be denied, that howsoever the tendernesse of women, doth require a palseue course of life, vnder the shelter of a safe rooffe, rather then in the bleake stormes of active indeaour; yet there haue beene some Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongst whom, Semiramis may leade the rest; together with Tomiris, Cyrus Mistress by conquest. As also Zenobia, that subdued the Persians; and Helena, Queene of the Russes.

Besides other noble spirits, that could answere such as told them newes of the death of their sonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpose. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall apcnels of that Sex, to the vse and practice of Armes.

And

Inf. lib. 1.
Hecub. lib. 2.
Trech. Pala.
Sicelm. Bar. 11
Muccon.

And if any man (as vnwilling to afford them too much worth) will knowe wherein they auale the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that euen in expeditions (wherein they are most subiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable assistances to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and otherwise; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

But in places besieged, women doe not onely afford haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this siege) but are able to cast peeces of Mill-stones vpon the Enemy, with better fortune some-times then any other man: and haue thereby slaine the Generall, to the raising of the siege, and sauing of the Citie.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commanded the Christian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Castle, were making works for a retreat, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commanded by Aldobrandine) being ioyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, seemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confusion.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Towne assaulted by a warlike Enemy, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the East Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hues of Bees, when they were possessed of the walls: but with such valour as may ouer-maister the Enemy, and extend it selfe to the taking of fine Campes, if need require; which was performed by these Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

Caesar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace;
taken in Oricum, Apolonia, and
other places.



It is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) was twice taken by Caesar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Caesar deeme (in regarde of the fauours which he had shewed him) to bee a fitt person, to bee sent with a Message to Pompey;

O 2.

Pompey;

Quod honestum
pud vultu le-
nimentum?
Tac. l. 3. Annal.
Pis praesenti
victoria manere
dilecta coniuncta
codem.

Iudg. 9.

Anno 1595.

Caesar.

*Qui sapient,
velut absolvant
celeriter pace
faciunt quoniam
postulat distul-
lone. Appian.*

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee understood, that hee was in good account and credite with him.

The summe of his Commission was, to tell him, That it besemed them both, to give an end to their vvaifulnesse, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either side had bene sufficiently afflicted with losse and damages: which might serue for instruction and example to avoid other inconveniences. Hee, for his part, was driven out of Italy, with the losse of Sicily, Sardinia, with the two Prouinces of Spaine, as also of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Citizens in Spaine; himselfe, with the death of Curio, with the losse of the Affricane Armie, and with the rendry of the souldiers at Corfew: and therefore they should haue regard of themselves, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne losses, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilst either Party stood confident in his owne strength, and seemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune should chance to sway to one side, he that thought hee had the better end of the Staffe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himselfe with a reasonable part, because his hope would give him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie, so far much as they could not agree thereof themselves, they ought to seeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane while, it was fitt that the Common-wealth and themselves should rest satisfied, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the presence of their Armies, to dismishe their forces within three daies next following: and send away their Auxiliarie troopes, wherein they so relied, and consequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For assurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee would presently discharge as well his forces in the field, as those in garrison.

Vibullius, hauing received these instructions from Caesar (thinking it no lesse requisite to aduertise Pompey of Caesars arrivall, that hee might consult of that, before he deliuered what hee had in charge) posted night and day, taking at euery stage fresh horses, that hee might certifie Pompey, that Caesar was at hand with all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and went out of Macedonia, to Winter in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneys, least Caesar should possesse himselfe of the maritime Cities.

Caesar, hauing landed his forces, went the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commaunded the towne vnder Pompey, & had there a garrison of Parthians, shutting the gates, went about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the vvalles. But they, refusing to fight against the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the townsmen indeuouring of their owne accord to receiue him in; hee opened the gates, despairing of all other succours, and gaue up both himselfe and the towne to Caesar, and was entertained by him in safetie. Oricum being taken-in by Caesar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

His

His coming being heard of, L. Straberinus, the Gouernour, began to carie vvaier into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other side, denied to give any, or to shutte their gates against the Consull, or of themselves to take any resolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought convenient. Their affections being knowne, he secretly conuained himselfe away. The Apolonians sent Commissioners to Caesar, and receiued him into the towne. The Beldinenses followed their example, and the Amatines, together with the rest of the confining Cities. And to conclude, all Epirus sent vnto Caesar, promising to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, vnderstanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, vpon the report of Caesars approche, the Armie was so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (casting away their Armes) seemed rather to flie, then to march as souldiers.

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrrenched, when-as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Neuer to forsake Pompey, but to undergoe what chance soeuer Fortune had allotted him. The same oath rooke the Legates: being likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Num est tempus: (saith Caesar) de pace agendi, dum uterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur. Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittest & seasonablest time, for composition betweene two opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begett equality, and disparitie, alike vneuenesse of nature: so, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equality: or otherwise, as the difference of their means shall allot the. For, if that be true in the extremitie, which Curtius hath, That Lawes are given by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; it doth consequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he saith, That Peace and Quietness consist in equality: as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequality.

Leges a victoribus dicuntur, acceptantur à victis. lib. 4. Quoties in equalitate moris, in inaequalitate semper constituitur in Timaeo.

O 3.

T H E

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ex rei qua ve-
rent exemplo,
rem intelligere
hanc difficile.
Plato 3 de leg.

IT appeareth here, by the fright and astonishment of Pompeis Armie, that the course he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no lesse hope of successe, haue contested with Caesar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which should haue held him from the conquest of Spaine, or such other atchieuements as he easilie wrought in the absence of his Adversaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, sorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardest courages, and to suffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noise and clamors of continuall victories, gotten vpon a part of themselues; and then to giue occasion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them disarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

CHAP. V.

Caesar tooke vp his lodging for Winter. Bibulus, distressed at Sea for want of provisions, seemed desirous of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other side with good caution, brake off againe.

Caesar.

CAesar, understanding that his passage to Dyrrachium was thus intercepted, did forbear his haste, and incamped himselfe vpon the River Apsus, in the confines of the Apoloniens; that by the means of his Guards and Forts, such Citizies as had well deserved of him, might be in safety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinnie, and to attend the coming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other side of the River Apsus; and there assembled all his troopes and forraigne aydes. Calenus, hauing (according to Caesars directions) imbarked the legions, and Canalicus at Brundisium, and taken in as many as his shipping would containe, he set saile: but being gone a little out of the Port, hee received Letters of aduice from Caesar, that all the flauens and the Sea-coast was kept with the Enemies fleet. Where-vpon, hee made againe into the Hauen, and called backe all the shippes: onely one, holding on her course, without regard of the command, carying no souldiers, but belonging to priuate men, arrived at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who spared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the sword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was saved.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept

the

the Sea and the Ports from Caesar, so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither vnder, get wood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: inasmuch as hee was brought into great straitnesse and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and was constrained (besides all other provisions) to fetch his vnder and wood from Corfew. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather being foule, they were forced to relieve themselues, with the deaw which in the night time fell vpon the skinned, that covered the Decks of the shippes. All which extremities they patiently indured; and would by no means be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a ship-board, to M. Atilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly take with Caesar, of matters of great consequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, which they knew Caesar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus was able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Caesar, at that time, was gone with one legion to take in some townes further off, and to set a course for provision of Corne, which was brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at But Brot, opposite to Corfew. Being certified there by Letters from Atilius and Marco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arriuall thither, they were called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceived a great anger at Caesar, about the Aedilitie and Pratorship: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that vtility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was euer desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselues, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the warre, and the disposition of all things, were referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they understood what Caesar required, they would send instantly a dispatch vnto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and vntill an answer might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To which, Caesar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any answer: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Caesar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to send Embassadors to Pompey without danger; and that they would undertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the warre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keep his ships and succours from coming vnto him;

him; and he, on the other side, did prohibite them frō landing, or taking in fresh water: and if they would haue that graunted vnto them, let them cease guarding of the Coast; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithstanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on, albeit these were not omitted: for, he tooke them to be no impediment therevnto. They would neither receiue Cæsars Embassadors, nor undertake for their safetie; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they instanced, and very vehemently urged the Truce. But Cæsar, perceiuing that all this speech tended onely to auoid the present danger, and to supply themselves of such vnants vberewith they were straightened, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of prosecuting the vuarre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



In contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not throwed vnder the faire name of Peace: so a Truce demanded by an Enemy, is to be handled sparingly & with suspicion: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when necessity doth moue them therevnto; and not to be granted, but as it may increse the like aduantage. But to yeeld to a suspension of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that consent vnto it, is neither allowable by reason, nor Cæsars example. And if occasion proue it requisite, it must be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that shall entertaine a Truce for any long season, shall see his Armie consumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall asunder of themselves; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleuenth, put-by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might haue giuen him the possession of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that such as seeke a Peace, desire no more then a cessation of Armes, for some reasonable time, as an introduction inforcing the same.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The first, is a league of Peace: which by the Apostles rule, should extend to all men, *habete pacem cum omnibus*; and by example of holy Patriarches (Isack with Abimelech, Iacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communie. The second, is a league of Entercourse, or Commerce; which is likewise by the same Patriarch, sending for Come into Egypt, and Salomons entercourse, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amongst the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourse of exchange, betweene the partes of the same. The third, is a league of mutuall Alsistance; such as Iehosaphat made with Achab: & is hardly safe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

*Fineuli neli
paci nomine in
voluntum bellum.
Cicero. T. lib. 7.*

Tardus Pacis.

Tardus Cimeris.

*Tardus mutui
auxilij.
L. R. 22.*

Touching the Persons to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee obserued from Bibulus, that no man, whose preience may either giue offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a courie sorting to a happy issue, is fit for any such imployment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Here were, in Rome, certaine Officers called *Aediles*, ab *Aedibus*; as having the care of houles & buildings, both publique and priuate, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (saith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod a populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Cerei Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matre populo plebique Romanae, ludorum celebritate placendam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioni, Iunoni, Minervaque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedum prouocationem; mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquorem in senatu sententia dicenda locum. Togam praetextam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam.* Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and set forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the allowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreover, they had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Citie, together with the prouision of victuall and Come. And, for the misuing of this office, was Bibulus angry with Cæsar; and would not beregaind vpon anie condition.

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæsar vseth meanes to procure
a Treaty of Peace; but preuail-
eth not.



Bibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous sicknesse, through cold and extreame labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet vsilling to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the disease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but euery man commaunded his owne flecte. The burly burly beeing quiered, which Cæsars Iudaine arriual had moued, Bibulius, with the assistance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

In Verrem.

The publication of these singular Plaies, was cried in these words: *Conuenire ad ludos spectandos, quos neque spectant quisquam nec spectatus est. Suet. in Claudio.* *Deleuit amicis, pere, difficile, Xrup. de fallis et d. c. Socrati.*

Cæsar.

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greatest importance, resolved to deliuer what Caesar had recommended vnto him: & entering into the relation thereof, was interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to speake any further of that matter. What use or neede haue I (saith he) either of my life, or of the Cittie, when I shall be thought to enioy it by Caesars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be remoued, untill the warre be ended; that of my selfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Caesar vnderstood this, from those that were present when hee spake it: and yet notwithstanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parlee of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Caesar, were onely separated by the River Apfus, that ranne betweene them; where the souldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongst themselves, threw no weapon during the time of their treatie. Where-upon, he sent P. Patinuis, a Legat, to the River banke, to utter such things as did chiefly concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to send to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyrenean Mountaines: or at least, to moue that Cittizens should not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing spoken much very respectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the safetie of all therest, he was heard with silence, by the Souldiers on both sides.

At length, it was answered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himselfe for a conference the next day; so that the Commissioners on both sides, might come and goe in safety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for vvhich, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either side, presented themselves at the place assigned; and great was the expectation thereof, euery man seeming to incline to peace. Out of vvhich troope stept forth T. Labienus, and spake softly touching the peace: and at last, entered into altercation with Patinuis. In the middle of their speech, were weapons suddenly cast from all parts: which hee auoided, being covered and defended with Armes. Notwithstanding, many were wounded; and amongst others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, besides many other souldiers. Then said Labienus, Leane off, therefore, to speake of any composition: for, vnlesse Caesars head be brought, there can be no peace.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

His small peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable passages of extremitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As first (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulnesse in Bibulus: who neither sicknesse, nor despaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had vnderaken; but chose rather to suffer vnto death, in approuing his zeale to the Cause, then to giue himselfe a breathing time for the sauing of his life: and may serue to admonish any other Bibulus, to value his life about that, which a stiffe and willfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the measure of honorable

honourable indeauour, or what else may any way be iustly expected; least in striving to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnderstood to bee well done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne.

The second, is Pompeis resolution; being so extreme, as no composition, or other thing whatsoever, could giue him satisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe saith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the casualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commander, to imbrace a safe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, shall haue his turne of suffering the like misseases: and as warre be ginneth, when one partie listeth, so it endeth, when the other side plealeth.

— *facilis descensus Auernei:*
Sed renouare gradum, superaque evadere ad oras,
Hic opus, hic labor est.

And therefore, let no Commander, how great focuer, refuse all peace, but that which is bought by extremitie of warre; least the euent (whereof there can be no assurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vie, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make straight that which is crooked; and out of discord and dissension, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extremitie as either of the former; whom nothing would satisfie but Caesars head. It cannot be denied, but that he strooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to say it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthinesse. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to most men to magnifie themselves, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their designs with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a successful issue, and to remove by industrie, or providence, such hinderances as happen to trauerse their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithstanding this Brauado. And therefore, let such Commanders, as are in good opinion and esteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbarcking their partie in any cause, further then may besetme the wisdom and experience of iudicious Leaders; as believing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum acerrime desinere: non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuius etiam ignano licere, deponi, cum virores velint.*

Propra sapit,
qui sibi non sapit.

Anecd. 6.

Lab. 16.

Successum fortune, experientiam laus sequitur Varro, ex Gellio.

Salust.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth sedition in Italie,
and is slaine.

Cæsar.



At the same time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prator at Rome, vndertaking the busines of debts, in the beginning of his Magistracie, placed his seate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prator of the towne; promising to be assisting to any man, that would appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and paiement to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæsar had ordained. But it came to passe, as well through the equity and indifferencie of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that those times required an easie and milde execution of iustice) that none were found, from whom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of those times; or otherwise, to preponnd the difficulties of selling their goods by an out-rape, was euery mans practise: but for any man to acknowledge himselfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his possessions whole and vntouched, was held a very strange impudencie: so that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreover, Cælius carried a very burd hand, to such as should haue receiued benefite thereby. And hauing made this enterance (to the end he might not seeme to haue vnderooke a shamefull or dishonest cause) he published a law, that there should be no interest paid, for any Monies let out vpon consideration, for thirtie fixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceived, that Seruilus the Consull, and the rest of the Magistrates did oppose themselves against him, therein, and siniding it not to sort with his expectation (to the end he might incite and stirre up the humours and spirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in steede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yeerely rents that Tenants were accustomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houses they dwelt in: and the other, Touching new assurances, and the abolishing of old debts. Where-vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that stood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of these things, Seruilus the Consull made relation to the Senate: who there-vpon decreed, that Cælius should be remoued fro his Pratorship. And by meanes of that Arrest, the Consull interdicted him the Senate, and also drew him from the Speaking Place, as he went about to make a speech to the people. Cælius, moued with shame and despayre, made as though hee would goe to Cæsar; but sent Messengers secretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And having recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and reuwards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioynd himselfe with him: and then sent him before to Thurin, to excite and stirre up the Shepheards to sedition; he himselfe going to Casseline.

At

As the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes being staled at Capua, besides his family suspected as Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceived; their other designs being discovered, and their Partizans shot out of Capua: fearing some danger, forasmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane while, Milo, hauing sent Letters to the Municipall townes, that what he did, was by the authority and commandement of Pompey, according as he receiued it from Bibulus, he applied himselfe, and solicited such as were in debt: with whom preuailing nothing, hee brake up diuers prisons, and began to assault Cæsa in Thurin: & there he was slaine by Q. Pedius the Prator, with a stone which he cast from the wall.

Cælius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cæsar, hee came to Turry, where, when he had moued diuers of the inhabitants, and promised money to the French and Spanish Cavalrie, which Cæsar had put there for a Guarizen, he was in the end slaine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practises of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prators, the two chiefeft remained at Rome; the one, to administer iustice to the Citizens, which was called Prator Vrbanus, who in the absence of the Consull, had the superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, receiued Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called Prator Peregrinus: whose office was, to order the causes and suites of forrainers and strangers; where-vnto Cælius was chosen: and, being of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vpon this rent in the State, to raise new garboiles, fit for his owne purposes; as hauing learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already stirred, are more easly moued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And there-vpon, hauing power by his office, to decide causes of Controuersie, hee remoued his Tribunnall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius sat, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue liued longer, if he had been of a staied and settled cariage; but now must stand for an example of a willfull Magistrate.

Touching Rosfra, which I haue translated the Speaking-place, it was a part of their Forum, where the Consulls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of ships,

P.

which

Omnia commo-
ta facilius quam
quiescentia mo-
uentur. De Me-
thaphis.

Lini, lib. 8.

Lib. li. 8.
Plutarch.

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiaty*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Roftra*; memorable amongst other things, for-that Antonie ſette Tullies head betwene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often ſpoken moſt eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-againſt the *Hauen of Brundifum*; and is beaten off by a ſtratagem.

Cæſar.



Libo, departing from *Orſcum*, with his ſleete of fifty ſhippes, came to *Brundifum*, and tooke an Iland, which lieth ouer-againſt the *Hauen*, as a place of great importance, by which our Army muſt neceſſarily come forth: & ſtutting in all the Ports, and parts of that ſhore, as alſo ſurpriſing by his ſuddaine coming, certaine ſhippes of ſour then, hee ſette all on fire, ſawing one laden with Corne, which hee tooke along with him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine ſouldiers and horſemen in the night time, hee diſlodged the Cavalrie that were there in Guarifon: and ſo preuailed, through the advantage of the Place, as hee wvrit to Pompey, that he might draw the other ſhipping on ſhore, and new trimme them; for, hee wvould vnder-take, with his ſleete alone, to hinder thoſe forces from coming to *Cæſar*.

Antonius wvas then at *Brundifum*: and truſting to the valour of the ſouldiers, armed out threeſcore ſkiſſes, belonging to great ſhippes; and fencing them with hurdles and plank, put certaine choiſe ſouldiers in them, diſpoſing them in ſeueral places along the ſhore: and further commaunded two *Triremes* (which hee had cauſed to be made at *Brundifum*, for the exerciſe of the ſouldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the *Hauen*.

Libo, perceiuing theſe to come out ſome-what looſely, and hoping to intercept them, ſent out ſixe *Quadrimes* to attack them: which were no ſooner come neere vnto our ſhippes, but the old ſouldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on with a deſire of taking them, preaced after ſomewhat raſhly, and vnaduifedly: wvhen at length, vpon a ſignall giuen, the ſkiſſes came ſuddainly out from all parts, ſette vpon them, and at the firſt ſhock tooke one of the *Quadrimes*, with all the oare-men and ſouldiers in her; the reſt, they compelled to ſlie away ſhamefully. To which loſſe, this wvas further added, that they were kept from water, by the Canallry which *Antonius* had diſpoſed along the Coaſt: through neceſſity whereof (as alſo by reaſon of the ignominie receiued) *Libo* departed from *Brundifum*, and gane over the ſiege.

Many

Many moneths were new paſt, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neither the ſhipping nor the legions, came from *Brundifum* to *Cæſar*. And ſome opportunities ſeemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good oftentimes; which *Cæſar* thought they would haue taken. And the longer they ſtaied there, the ſtraighter was all the Coaſt guarded and kept, by ſuch as commaunded the ſleet; beeing now in great hope to hinder their paſſage. Which they did the rather in-deavour, becauſe they were oftentimes reprobred by Letters from Pompey, for that they did not impeach *Cæſars* coming at firſt: which hee did to make them the more careful, to hinder thoſe ſupplies. And, in attending ſo from day to day an opportunity of paſſage, it wvould waxe worſe & worſe, the winds growing more eaſie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY how much eaſier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coaſt of a large Country: by ſo much was *Libo* more likely to preuaile, in ſeeking to thruſt vp the *Hauen* of *Brundifum*, to hinder theſe ſupplies from coming vnto *Cæſar*; then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritime parts of *Epirus*, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But ſuch is the vncertaintie of enterpriſes of vvarre, that albeit our courſe be rightly ſhapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is deſired. For, howſoeuer hee was poſſeſſed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the *Hauen*, and had thruſt out the guard of horſemen, and ſo became confident of blocking vp the Port; yet there was means found by the aduerſe Partie, to giue him ſuch an affront, as made him quit the place with more diſhonour, then could be recompenced by anything he got.

Incerta ſunt res bellica. Pluicid.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſars ſupplies paſſe ouer into Greece, and take landing.



Cæſar, troubled at theſe things, wvrit very ſharply to them at *Brundifum*, not to omit the opportunity of the next good wind, but to put to Sea, and to ſhape their courſe to *Oricum*, or to the Coaſt of *Apolonia*; becauſe there they might runne their ſhips on ground: & theſe places were freeſt from Guardes, by reaſon they could not ride farre from the Ports. They, according to their accuſtomed courage and valour (*Marcus Antonius*, and *Enſius Calenus* directing the buſineſſe, and the ſouldiours themſelues beeing forward there-vnto, as reſuſing no danger for *Cæſars* ſake) hauing

Cæſar.

got a South wind, maid Anchor, and the next day, passed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but being discovered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Nanie, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his shippes out of the Haue. And as he had almost (vpon a slack wind) ouer-taken our men, the same South wind began at length to blowe stiff, by which meanes they escaped: yet did not he desist from pursuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & industrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempest, and followed them, notwithstanding they were past Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vsing the fauour of Fortune, were neuer thelesse afraid of the Enemies Nanie, if the wind should chance to slacke: & hauing got the Port called Nymphæum, three miles beyond Lissus, they put in with their shippes.

This Port lay sheltered from the South-west wind, but was not safe from a South wind: howeuer, they accounted an ill roade lesse dangerous then the Enemies fleet: & yet they were no sooner put in, but the wind (which had blown southerly for two daies together) did now most happily come about to the South-west.

And heere a man may see the suddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late stood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occasion, receiued into a safe harbour: and those which threatned danger to them, were forced to belinke themselves of their owne safetie. So that the time thus changing, sined our Partie, and sunke theirs. Inasmuch, as sixteene of the Rhodian shippes were all shaten in peeces, and perished with shipwrack: and of the great number of oare-men and souldiers, part were dashed against the Rocks & slaine, and part were taken up by our men: all which, Cæsar sent home in safetie. Two of our shippes comming short, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where the rest had taken shore, floode at an Anchor, right ouer against Lissus. Them did Otacilius Crassus, Gouvernour of Lissus, goe about to take with skiffes, and other little shippes, which he had prepared for that purpose; & withall, treated with them, of yielding themselves, promising life and safety, vpon that condition.

One of the shippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young souldiers; in the other, were lesse then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may see, what assurance and safety consisteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made souldiers, terrified with the multitude of shippes that came against them, and spent with Sea-sickness, vpon oath made not to receiue any hurt, did yield themselves to Otacilius: vho, being brought all vnto him, were contrary to his oath, most cruelly slaine in his sight. But the souldiers of the old Legions (howeuer afflicted with the inconvenience of the tempest, and notwithstanding of the Pompe) did not slacke anything of their ancient valour: for, hauing dravven out the first part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yield themselves, they compelled the Maister to runne his shippe ashore: and hauing got a convenient place, they there spent the rest of the night.

As soone as it was day, Otacilius sent foure hundred horse, which had the guard of that part of the coast, with others of the garrison, to assault and take them:

them: but they, valiantly defending themselves, slew diuers of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine Cittizens, residing in Lissus (vvhich towne, Cæsar had formerly giuen them to bee kept and guarded) receiued in Antonius, and assisted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought ouer his troopes (vvhich were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horse) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundisium: leaving the Pontones, which are a kind of French shipping, at Lissus; to this end, that if happily Pompey, thinking Italy to be empty and vnfurnished, should cary ouer his Army thither, Cæsar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Cæsar, to let him knowe where the Armie was landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Olus an virtus quis in hoste requirit, is not so iustifiable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promised one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Iurists conclude otherwise; hauing, for the more apparence of truth, drawne it to a Question, *An perfidia in perfidum vti, Ius sit?* alleaging Labienus practice, against Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Answer, that their example standeth as a president, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falsifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly succedeth.

The most remarkable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be wished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourable peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkish Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuertheless, at the perswasion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to dissannull the league, & absolve him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidell tooke occasion impiously to blaspheme, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most sacred and blessed Lord) and was there slaine, to the utter ruine of his kingdom, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinall escape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but being there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by *Gregorie Sanofe*, ready to giue vp the ghost; & seemed but to flay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious abolution.

*Aeneid. 2.
Homer. 9. Iliad.*

*Histius lib. 8.
de bello Gallico.*

Plutarchus.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Asia, to come into Greece, to assist Pompey.

Cesar.
A hill, separating
Syracum
Cicilia.



About this time, Scipio, hauing sustained diuers losses, neere the Mount Amanum, did neuertheless call himselfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-upon, commaunded great summes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of those quarters: taking, frō the generall Receiuers of that Prouince, all the Moneies that were in their hands for two yeeres past, and commaunding them to disburse (by way of loane) the recēt for the yeere to come, and requiring horsemen to be leuied throughout all the Prouince. Hauing gathered these together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Enemies vnto him (who a little before had slaine M. Crassus, the Generall, and besieged M. Bibulus) and drew the legions out of Syria; being sent specially thither to keepe and settle that Prouince, much amused through feare of the Parthian warre.

At his departure, some speeches were giuen-out by the souldiers, that if they were ledde against an Enemy, they would goe; but against a Cittizen and Consul, they would not beare Armes. The Army being brought to Pergamum, and there quarizoned for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he distributed great largesse and gifts; and for the better assuring of the souldiers vnto him, gaue them certaine Citties to rīse.

Columnaria. O
Cicilia.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactions of money, throughout all the Prouince: for, he put a tribute vpon slanes and free-men by pole, set impositions vpon the pillars and doores of houses, as also vpon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and carriages; and what soeuer had a name, was thought fitt to yeld money, by way of imposition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almost in euery Village and Caste: wherein, he that caried himselfe most cruelly, was held both the worst and the best Cittizen.

The Prouince was at that time full of Officers and Commandements, pestered with Ouer-seers and Exactors: who, besides the money leuied by publike autoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they were thrust out of their houses, and their Countrey, and in want of all necessities; to the end they might with such pretences, couer their wicked & hatefull courtesies. To this was added, the hard and heauie fūry, which oftentimes doth accompany warre, when all moneyes are drawn and exacted to the publike: vnder the pretence of a day, was accounted a discharge for the whole. Whereby it happened, that in those two yeeres, the whole Prouince was ouer-grown with debts: and yet, for all that, they suck not to leuie round summes of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Prouince; but also, vpon euery Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue-out, was

by

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receiuers to aduance the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreouer, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneies which of old time had bene treasured-up in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (hauing called vnto him many of the Senators that were there present) hee received a Dispatch from Pompey, That Caesar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee should hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters being received, he dismissed such as he had called vnto him, and beganne to dispose of his journey into Macedonia, setting forward within a few daies after: by which accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, being of that excellent vse in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet to much vnder-valued to Gold and Siluer, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question of Money; but raiseth continuall garboiles & extremities, as a reuenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages, as it doth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violence in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, wee find a Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called *Capitatio*. And then a second, as grievous as that, being a taxe laid vpon euery dore in a house, which they called *Ostia*: whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eight Epistle of his third Booke. And lastly, an other vpon euery pillar in a mans house, which they called *Columnaria*: mentioned likewise by Cicero, *Columnarium vide ut nullum debeamus*. Howbeit, Alciatus vnderstandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnassus, That when Treasure failed at the siege of Modena, they laid an Imposition vpon euery tile that was found on the Senators houses in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occasion, to make the tiles as heauie to the rest of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, saith he, was called *Columnaria*.

Some Popes, out of their occasions, haue gone farr in this kind, & found meanes to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vie of man. Inasmuch as Pasquill begged leave to dry his shirt in the Sunne, before there were an Imposition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuinely giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not swell about his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treasure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis crescent araria damnis.

Basilus aduisech, that money thus raised, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certainie, by making Necessitie the square of such commaunds. *Da operam* (saith hec)

Propter Aurum
et Argentum
mundi pacem
fuit seruum. li.
14. Epist. 93.
Peruim omnis
artis instrumentum.
Aurum et
argentum meriti
Nancipia. Epist.
Cicero.

Ostia.

Columnaria.
13 ad Atticum.
Epist. 1.

In the Papacie
of Sixt. Quintus.
Fiscus republice
non quod ex cres-
cente, autus re-
liqui talefcent.
Sext. Aurelium
Pictor.

In Paraneis.

2 de offi.

hec)

Plutarch.
bella sustentan-
tar pecuniarum
abundantia.
Dion. Halicarn.
lib. 6.

Annal. 13.

lice) ut omnes intelligent, si salus esse velint, necessitati esse parendum. And so the opening of priuate mens purses, is but to keepe them shut and safe, from such Enemies as would consume all; according as Scipio once answered, when the Romaines blamed him, for spending their Treasure: Howsoever, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand such store of Treasure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the renewen which supporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obserued, *Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus res pub. sustinetur diminuantur.*

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar sendeth forces into Thessalia, Aetolia and Macedonia; Scipio commeth into Greece.



Cæsar.

Cæsar, being ioyned with Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coast; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduance further into the Countrey. And, where-as Embassadours came vnto him out of Thessalia & Aetolia, assuring, that if hee would send forces to protect them, the Citties of those Prouinces would readily obey what hee commanded: Hee sent L. Cæsius Longinus, with the legion of young souldiers, called the *seu-en* and twentieth, and two hundred horse, into Thessalia: and C. Calpurnius Sabinus, with five cohorts, and a few horse, into Aetolia; exhorting them specially, to take a course for provision of Corne in those two Prouinces, which lay neere at hand.

Que libera est
prociator.

* Ispanto.

He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleuenth and the twelfth, and five hundred horse into Macedonia; of which Prouince (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, being sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great forwardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Calpurnius, vpon his coming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and hauing cast the Garrison of the Enemy out of Caldone and * Naupactum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Cæsius arrived vwith the legion in Thessalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly received, with contrary affections.

Egesæus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompei's partie: and Petreius, a man of a most noble house, endeauoured by all meanes, to deserue vwell of Cæsar. At the same time also, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadours began to come thicke vnto him, from diuers States of that Prouince, it was told him, that Scipio was at hand with the legions, and came with
great

great fame and opinion of all men: which is ofentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vwithin twenty miles of him, turned his course suddainly, to Cæsius Longinus, in Thessalia: which he did so speedilie, that neuer came together of his coming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Faunonius at the River Halacmon (vwhich diuideth Macedonia from Thessalia) vwith eight cohorts, to keepe the cariages of the legions: where hee commanded them to build a Fort.

At the same time, the Canallie of King Cottus, which was wont to keepe in the Confines of Thessalia, came flying suddainly to Cæsius Campe: whereat, hee being astonished (vnderstanding of Scipios coming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Thessalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, sent from Faunonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receipt of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his iourney; & leaving Cæsius, made haste to help Faunonius: so that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was scene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discovered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius industry did helpe Cæsius, so did Scipio his speede saue Faunonius.

OBSERVATIONS.



Cæsar, being now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey; the first thing hee did, was to make triall of the Prouinces of Greece, and to gett their fauour and assistance, for his better furtherance in contesting his Aduersarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselves, as they are able to resist any opposing force; and secondly, through the fauour of the Countrey, wherein they are engaged: so, on the other side, their ouer-throw either proceedeth fro their owne weakenesse; or otherwise, when the Prouinces adioyning, doe refuse such mutual respects, as may relieve the wants of a consuming multitude. And therefore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee sent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had bene settling for a yeere together, and then resolved to attack him neerer.

And doublelesse, if Scipio had not by chance interrupted their course, vpon his coming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as easily got all Thessalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheless so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

In Macedonia,
que velint sibi
candida na'ci,
ad Halacmon
ducere, que ni-
gros et fusca ad
Anum.

CHAP. XIII.

The Passages betweene Domitius
and Scipio.

Casar.



Scipio abode two daies in his standing Campe, vpon the Riu-
er Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius
Campe. The third day, as soone as it began to be light, he pas-
sed his Armie ouer the Riuer by a Foord, and incamped him-
selfe. The next day in the morning, he imbattered his forces
before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner,
made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, resolving to fight. And whereas
there lay a field of sixe miles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbat-
telled vnder Scipios Campe; who neuertheless refused to moue any iote from his
standing: yet for all that, Domitius souldiers were hardly kept from giuing bat-
tell: but specially a Riuer, lying vnder Scipios Campe, with broken and vneasie
bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, vnderstanding of their alacrity, and desire to fight; suspecting it
might happen, that the next day he should be forced to fight against his will, or
with great dishonour keepe himselfe within his Campe, hauing with great
expectation in the beginning, gone on rashly, and vnadvisedly, was now disho-
noured with a reproachfull end. For, in the night time he rose, without anie
noise or warning for the trussing up of the baggage; and passing the Riuer, re-
turned the same way he came: and in an eminent place, nere vnto the Riuer,
he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambushment of horsemen in a place, where our
men had formerly accustomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the
horse in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary use, they set vpon
him at a suddaine: but our men did valiantly sustaine the on-set; and euery man
betaking himselfe speedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord,
charged the Enemy: and hauing slaine foure-score, they put the rest to flight,
with the losse onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.

It appeareth here, that to shew a readines and resolution to fight,
vpon such grounds as are iustifiable by the rules of Warre, is no
small advantage to the prosperous carriage of the same. For, albeit
Scipio was great in his owne strength, and as great in the opinion
and expectation of men: yet when he found such an alacrity in the Enemy,
to giue and take blowes, and a desire to entertaine seriously all occasions of
giuing battell: he was so farre from prosecuting what he had pretended, as hee
rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreat, and consequentlie, to turne the ad-
uantage which the world in opinion had giuen to his Armie, to his owne re-
proach, and disadvantage: where-as on the other side, to bee found for the
most part vnwilling to hazard the trial of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon
any occasion, doth inuite an Enemy to attempt that, which otherwise hee
would not; and giue them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as
knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either
to take or leaue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Am-
bushment. Young Pompeis attempt
vpon Oricum.

Casar.

After these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might
be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee were in
great want and scarcitie of Corne: and there-vpon,
rising from the place where in hee was incamped,
with the vsuall cry of remoouing, according to the
custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles,
hee lodged all his Armie, with the Cavalrie, in a conue-
nient and secret place.

Scipio, being readie to follow after, sent his horse-
men, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discover what way Do-
mitius tooke: who, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Am-
bushment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe a-
gain. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to re-
tire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselves discovered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the
rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reach, they contented them-
selves with them: amongst whom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse.
The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke alive, and
brought them to Domitius.

Casar, as is before shewed, hauing withdrawne the Guarizons from along
all the Sea coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the
Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies,
which he had brought out of Italy; whereof Scilius the Legate had the charge,
being left Gouvernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping,
had drawn all the fleet into a back angle, behind the towne, and there fastened
them to the flore: and in the mouth of the Hawen, had Junke a great ship, and set
another by her, vpon which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; &
filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hawen from any suddaine attempt.

Q

Vpon

Vpon notice vvhetherof, Pompeis sonne, beinge Admirall of the Egyptian flecte, came to Oricum, and with many haulfers and hookes, waied vp the junk shippes; and assaulted the other shippe, set by Scilius for the defence of the Hauen, with shippes vvherein hee had made towres, which stood by counterpoize, that hee might fight vwith aduantage of height, supplying continually fresh men: and attempting also, as well from the Land side, to take the towne by scaling Ladders, as by Sea vwith his Naute; to the end he might disratt and dismember the forces vwithin.

In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of weapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the shippe, hauing cast out such as had the guard: who fled all away vwith Skiffes and Boates. At the same time, being likewise seized of a small height, on the other side of the towne, in the nature of a Penc-insule, hee conuained ouer foure small Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; inasmuch, as setting on each side vpon the Gallies tied vnto the shore, empty & vnfurnished, hee caried foure of them away, and burned the rest.

This being done, he left D. Lalius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian flecte, to keepe the passage, that no victuals, or other provisions, might be brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia; and hee himselfe, going to Lissus, found thirty shippes of burthen, vvhich Antonius had left vwithin that Hauen, and set them all on fire. And as hee went about to take Lissus, the souldiers which Caesar had put there for a guarizon to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townsmen thereof, did so vvvell defend the same, that after he had continued there three daies, and lost a few men in the siege, hee left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.



AN Ambushment is easily at all times laid: but to do it so that it may not be suspected, and in such manner, that the Enemy may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be ayimed at therein. And therefore, to giue the better colour to such designs, the tricke hath bene to pretend feare (and so flight) or want of Corne, or some-what else, to draw the Enemy to follow after, with more boldnesse and resolution. And so to haue it wel done, there must be two deceits to assist each other; as in this of Domitius, to make shew of removing, through leacitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard; *Avm Traydor, dos Aleuofos*. For, the prevention of such snares of deceit, the rule is generally giuen by O-nofander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemy, is alwaies to be suspected.

And for the more securitie therein, experienced Commanders haue bene careful before they fitted their Armie, to make exact discouerie, euen to the place

Biremes.

Oportet hostium
discipulos sem-
per suspectos ha-
bere.
Cap. 5

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Phylicke, it is the greatest part of the cure, to know the disease: so in matters of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceived whence it may growe.

The manner observed in discoueries, hath vsually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, consisting of a small number, to beat the way at ease, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conuenient: the second Companie, being some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemy.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Xenophon. But this, being subiect to the consideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisdom of the General.

Cyrops.

CHAP. XV.

Caesar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him
battaile; cutteth him off from
Dyrrachium.



After Caesar vnderstood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the way the towne of the Parthimians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey, in Macedonia, and lodged himselfe fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him battaile. But when he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee set forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off, from all Conuoies and Ammunition, which was there stored up for the vvhole prouision of the vvarre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey being ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as hee tooke a contrarie way, thought hee had been driuen thence, through scarcitie and want of Corne. But, being afterwards aduertised by the discouerers vvhich hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Caesar suspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And resting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, euen as the first troope of Pompeis Armie was discouered afar off: and there incamped himselfe.

Caesar.

Pompey, being cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplish his purposes, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferant passage to the shippes, and beltered

Quintus ro-
colum Thau-
tius Nicola Pe-
tram. Lucan.

belterred likewise the Hauens from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the shippes to be brought, together vwith Corne, & provision of victuall, from Asia, and such other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæsar, doubting that the warre would prove long and tedious, and despairing of any succour of victualls from the Coast of Italie, for that all the shore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the shipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were staied and came not to him, hee dispatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make provision of Corne.

And forasmuch as those Regions were farre off, hee appointed store-houses and Magasins in certaine places, & imposed cariage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine soeuer should be found at Lissus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought vnto him: vvhich was very little, forasmuch as the Countrey thereabout, was rough and Mountainous, and afforded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as also, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had ransacked the Parthinians, & caused his horsemen to carie away all the Graine, vvhich was found amongst them.

OBSERVATIONS.



*HE first thing that Cæsar did, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the best Arbitrator of the Cause in question, and most fitting the vñance of the auncient Romaines. But, forasmuch as the indeuours of such as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refused to accept thereof, knowing himselfe to be much stronger in forces, better accommodated, hauing a farre greater partie in the Countrey, and the Sea whollie at his command (which aduantages, were like to end the busines, without hazard of a battaile) Cæsar be thought himselfe of some other project, which might take away the scone of that refusal, by vndertaking such things, as much imported the state of his Adversarie. For, in such cases, when an Enemy will not fight, some-what must be done, to cast dishonour, or greater inconveniences, vpon him; or at least, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a course, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherein all his provisions of warre were stored vp; or other-wile, to cut him off from the same. The least of which, was a sufficient acquaintance of any disgrace, which the neglect of this offer might seeme to inferre; Hauing thereby occasion to vie that of the Poet, *Iam sumus ergo pares.**

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege Pompey.



Cæsar, being informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, vvhich he first tooke from the very nature of the place wherein they were; for, vvhether-as Pompeis Campe was inclosed about vwith many high and steepe Hilles, hee first tooke those Hilles, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to inclose Pompey about vwith a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, vpon these considerations; for that hee was greatly straightened through want of Corne, and that Pompey being strong in horse, hee might vwith lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with provision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Canall vñseruiceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and vvhaken the exceeding great reputation, vvhich Pompey had attained vnto amongst forraine Nations, vvhich it should bee noised throughout the world, that hee was besieged by Cæsar, and durst not fight.

Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne to leaue the commoditie of the Sea, and the Towne of Syrrachium, hauing there laid vp all his provision of vvarre, Armes, vveapons, Engines, of what sort soeuer; besides Corne, vvhich was brought from thence to his Armie by shipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæsars first motions, vnlesse hee would accept of battaile, vvhich for that time he was refused not to doe; onely it remained, as the last thing hee could thinke of, to possesse himselfe of as many Hilles as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, vwith good and strong guard: and by that meanes, to distrust, as much as possible hee might, Cæsars forces, as accordingly it fell out. For, hauing made twentie foure Castles and Forts, hee tooke in twentie five miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be set and planted by hand, which in the next time, serued as foode for horses.

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, lest they had left some places to sallie out, and so vvhould come vpon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their vvorke thus perfect, throughout the vvhole in ward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, hauing also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

R 3.

And,

*Alus allinori
in pateris fuit
dispositio. A.
ristot. Metaph.*

*Ex subuocatio et
contumacia.*

And as Caesar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was resolved not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuertheless, hee sent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and stood in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the souldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or stiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

To conclude, either Party used all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Caesar, to shut up and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to enlarge himselfe, and possesse as many hills as conveniently hee might; which gaue occasion of many skirmishes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

*Contempta res
est homo, nisi su-
pra humana se
erexit.*

*Cum ratione in-
sanit.*

WE may heere take notice, of the strangest enterprize, that euer vvas vndertake by a iudicious souldier. For, where else may it be read or vnderstood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong aduersarie, and to inclose a whole Country by Castles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill, to the end he might shut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field: But herein appeare the infinite and restless in-deavours of a Romaine spirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne endes: and yet not besides the limits of reason. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vnlesse he raise himselfe above ordinary courses; it is more specially verified in a Souldier: whose honour, depending vpon the superlatiue degree, must seeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such inducements, as are heere alleadged; which shew good reason he had to be so madde.

CHAP. XVII.

A Passage that happened betweene both Parties,
about the taking of a Place.

Caesar.



Amongst these fights and encounters, it happened, as Caesars ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had possesse himselfe of the Hill next adioyning there-vnto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one side an easie acceffe vnto it; first with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe them in their busines. Neither were our men able, at one and the same time, to defend themselves, and goe on with their fortifications.

Caesar.

Observations vpon the third

...ent about to take any place, albeit Pompey was resolved not
... with all his forces: neuertheless, hee sent out his Ar-
... which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men
... should in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the soul-
... either of quill or stifening, or of leather, to keep them

Parties used all force and meanes to take places, and make
... out up and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pom-
... and possesse as many hills as conveniently hee might;
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OBSERVATIONS.

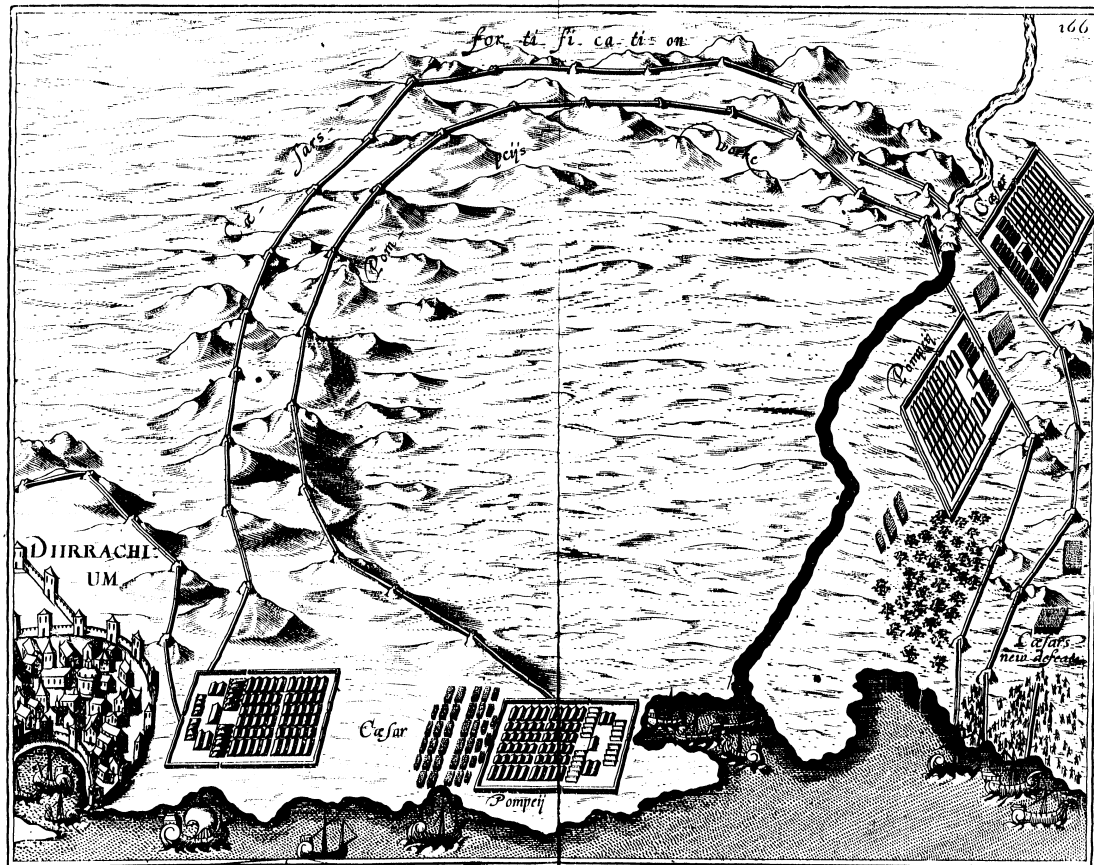
... here take notice, of the strangest enterprize, that ever was
... by a malicious souldier. For, where else may it be read or
... that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong ad-
... and to inclose a whole Country by Castles and Towres,
... from hill to hill; to the end he might shut him vp,
... in the field: But herein appeare the infinite and restless in-
... and unit, and the workes they wrought to archieve their
... ver not besides the limits of reason. For, if that of Seneca
... with truth, that a man is but a common, or rather contemp-
... rate himselfe above ordinary courses; it is more specifi-
... dier: whoe honour, depending vpon the superlatiue de-
... prospects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such
... as hee alleaged; which shew good reason he had to be so

CHAP. XVII.

What happened betweene both Parties,
about the taking of a Place.

... these fights and encounters, it happened, as Cæsars
... with Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to
... Pompey had posselt himselfe of the hill next adioy-
... there-into, and beganne to hinder our men from their
... And hauing from one side an easie acceffe onto it;
... with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great
... men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe
... Neither were our men able, at one and the same time,
... to goe on with their fortifications.

Cæsar,



Caſar, ſeeing his ſouldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commanded them to fall off, and leaue the Place. But ſoſmuch as they were to make their retreat downe the Hill, they did the more urge and preace upon them; & would not ſuffer them to fall backe, for that they ſeemed to forſake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey ſhould then, in a vaine-glory, ſay to thoſe that were about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no worth, if Caſars men could make any retreat from thence (where they were ſo raſhly ingaged) without great loſſe.

Caſar, fearing the retreat of his ſouldiers, cauſed Hurdles to be brought, and ſette againſt the Enemy, in the brimme of the till; and behind them, ſunke a trench of an indifferent latitude, and incombred the place as much as poſſibly hee could. Hee lodged alſo Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retreat.

Theſe things beeing perſited, hee cauſed the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompeies partie, beganne with greater boldneſs and inſolencie, to preſſe our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were ſet there as a Baricado, they paſſed ouer the ditch. Which when Caſar perceiued, fearing, leaſt they ſhould rather ſeeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater ſcandale might conſequently enſue, hauing almoſt from the mid-way encouraged his men, by Antonius, who commaunded that legion, hee willed that the ſigne of charging the Enemy ſhould be given by a Trumpet, and gaue order to aſſault them.

The ſouldiers of the ninth legion, putting themſelues ſuddainly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiously from the lower ground, vp the ſteepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who ſound the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance vnto them in their retreat. It contented our men to leaue the place without loſſe: ſo that hauing ſlaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the loſſe of ſixe of their fellows. And hauing ſtaied about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perſited the fortifications vpon them.

OBSERVATIONS.



*His Chapter ſheweth, that aduantage of place, and ſome ſuch induſtrious courſes, as may be fitted to the occaſion, are of great conſequence in extremities of warre: but, about all, there is nothing more auailable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth ſo many Monſters: and veriſieth that ſaying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum eſt, quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.*

CHAR. XVIII.

The scarcitie which either Partie endured
in this siege.

Caesar.



HE Carriage of that warre was in a strange & vnusall manner, as well in respect of the great number of Forts and Castles, containing such a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as also in regard of the whole siege, and of other consequents depending there-vpon. For, whosoever goeth about to besiege an other, doth either take occasion from the weaknes of the Enemy, daunted, or stricken with feare, or overcome in battaile, or otherwise being moued there-vnto by some iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the stronger, both in horse and foote: and generally, the cause of almost all sieges, is to keepe an enemy from prouision of Corne. But Caesar, being then farre inferiour in number of souldiers, did neuertheless besiege an Armie of intire and untouched forces, especially at a time when they abounded with all necessary prouisions: for, every day came great store of shipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from some part or other.

On the other side, Caesar, having spent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & scarcitie: and yet notwithstanding, the souldiers did beare it with singular patience; for, they remembred how they had suffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred, likewise, the exceeding great want they endured at Alesia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they went away Conquerers of many great Nations. They refused neither Barlie nor Pease, when it was giuen them in stead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furnished with great store out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is also a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chaba, which eaten with Milke did much relieue their want; & made with all, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to cast in their teeth their scarcitie and misery, they would comonly throw this kind of bread at them, and scatter it in diuers places, to discourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it selfe did relieue their want, for that they trusted to haue plenty within a short time. And oftentimes the souldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall speeches, that they would rather eate the barks of trees, then suffer Pompey to escape out of their hands.

Besides, they vnderstood, by such as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horse of service could scarce be kept aliue; and that the rest of their Cattell were all dead: and that the souldiers themselves, were in no good health, through the narrowness of the place wherein they were pent: as also by meanes of the ill humor and

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continuall labour, being vnaccustomed to trauaile and paines; but especially through the extreame want of water: For, all the Riuers and Brookes of that quarter, Caesar had either turned another way, or dammed up with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, with some intermission, and distinction of Vallies, in the forme and fashion of a Caue or Denne: so hee stopped the same with great piles beaten into the ground, and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then strengthened with earth, to keepe backe the water; In somuch, as they were constrained to seeke lowe grounds, and Marshy places, and there to sink Welles. Which labour, they were gladd to vnder-take besides their daily works, albeit these Welles stode farre distant from their Guarizens; and were quickly dried up with heat.

But Caesars Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of prouisions, excepting Wheate; which the season of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of store, Haruest being so neere at hand.

In this new course of warre, new policies and deuices of warfare were invented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiving by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came stealing out, and discharged all their Arrows vpon them, and then presently retreated. Where-with, our men being warned, found out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Orasmuch as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reasons heere expressed by Caesar, which are the true motives of vnder-taking a siege. The first is drawn, either from the weaknes of an Enemy, or as hee is daunted with feare, or over-come in battaile. For, having there-vpon no confidence in his owne power, doth rest himselfe in the strength of the Place, which he holdeth and possesseth: which giueth their aduersaries occasion, to lay siege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or shut them vp like wemen.

The second is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth loss) beyond that which stood with the course of respect formerly held betwene them. For reuenge whereof, the other side laeth siege to some of their Townes, to repaire themselves by taking in the same.

And thirdly, the final cause of all sieges, is to keepe an Enemy from victuall, and other manner of prouisions; and so to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part so violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Moufe: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius.

Plutarch.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE Second thing worthy our consideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæsars souldiers, in their so great wants and necessities; as first, in helping themselves, with this roote called Chara, described by Diolcorides, to be a little seed, tasting some what like Anis-seede, good to help digestion, and hauing such a root as a Carot, which being boiled, is very good meat; and is the same which our Physicians call Caraway-seed: where-with they serued their turne with such contentment, as they seemed to haue been trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meane to make easie the difficulties of warre; being as necessary for a souldier, as the vse of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the answer of Cyrus, to shew the seruices in a souldiers diet. For, being demanded, what he would haue made ready for supper? Bread; saith he; for, we will suppe at the Fountaine.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall looseness of the stomacks appetite, vpon any occasion: but, to vse the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the answer of them, that would excuse their liberrall expenses, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better payment, then they themselves would haue taken the excuse of their Cookes, for putting too much salt on their meat, because they had salt enough.

Cæsar punished his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his souldiers had. And Scipio calseries a cupple of Romaines at the siege of Carthage, for seasting a friend in their Tent, during an assault. Which austeritie of life, raised the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maisters of the world, from the East to the Westerne Ocean.

Secondly, as a consequent of this contentment, we may note their resolution to hold on their course of siege, purposing rather to eate the bark of trees, then to suffer Pompey to escape their hands. It is an excellent point in a General, to keepe himselfe from irresolution; being a weakeness of ill consequence, and not vnlike the disease of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as constancie to purposes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

An instance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithstanding their approach and scandall cast vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the sauing of his Country. And if it bee so well becomming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the souldier: especially considering that of Xenophon; *Non facile in officio potest miles contineri ab eo qui necessaria non subministrat.* For, as the same Author obserueth in another place, *Nullus est adeo fortis aut validus, qui possit aduersus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.*

THE

Lib. 3. cap. 59.

*Lulor militia
offidua frugali-
tate confectade-
re facilius est.
Lulim.
Cyrus conten-
ted with bread
and water.
Xenophon.*

*Arquale oportet
singulis esse in-
terpretum amicitia-
mutatis enim pro-
prium varietate-
tribus, mendis in-
finitis argumet-
tum efficitur. Ar-
gopitum.*

*Proculdubio nobis
causam lo resis-
tunt Rem. Enni.*

Li. 6. de Cyropa.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongst all the parts of the Romaine discipline, their Watch deserueth a particular description; supplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preventing of the same. Polybius hath left it to posteritie in this manner; Of each sort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, and likewise of the horse, there was chosen one, out of the tenth and last Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came daillie to the Tent of the Tribune. & there had giuen him a little Tabler, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tabler, they called *Tessera*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and so in order, untill it came to the first and chiefeest Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne setting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquirie, and by the notes of inscription, finding which was missing, they punished the default as they saw cause. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was distinguished from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for Polybius doth not affirme so much) was by the Centurion giuen, to such of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered: A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pavilion. The Treasurer had three watches, and euery Legat, two; A watch consisting of foure men, according to the generall diuision of their night into foure parts: each of those foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the first, second, third, or fourth watch, and the rest sitting by. The *Volies* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Decuries* of horse at the gates: besides, euery Maniple had a priuate watch within it selfe.

Of those that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, such as were to keepe the first watch of the night: and to them were deliuered lesser Tablets, then were giuen out at first, called *Tesserula*, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himselfe, and three other for his fellows.

The trust of going the Round, was committed to the horsemen: for, it belonged to the first Commander of horse, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commander to appoint Rounders for the night following. These horsemen, being thus appointed, did cast lots for the first, second, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches

ches to visit, hauing receiued the watch-word before, from their Commander: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primipile*, or chiefeſt Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of diſtinguiſhing the foure watches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time ſerued, for him that was to goe the Round the firſt watch, hee went out accompanied with ſome of his friends, and viſited thoſe watches which were aſſigned vnto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him ſleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witneſſe thereof, and departed. The ſame did the reſt of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in courſe. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe; but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed; which beeing knowne, the Centurion was called, and commaunded to bring thoſe that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witneſſes: if not, it fell vpon himſelfe; and a Councell of warre beeing preſently called, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounters, that happened
betweene both Parties.

IN the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Caſar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to command the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to ſuccour the Cohort: at whoſe approach, Pompeys partie was eaſily beaten off, being neither able to indure the ſhocke, nor ſight of our men. For, the firſt beeing put off, the reſt gaue backe, and left the place: but as our men purſued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not ſuffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee would haue preſſed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commandeth in Chiefe: the one, doing nothing but by order and preſcription; and the other, diſpoſing euery thing as hee ſhall thinke fit.

Sylla (in Caſars abſence) hauing freed his men, was content there-voith, & would no further ingage them in fight (which might happily prouee ſubieſt to ill fortune) leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to aſſume vnto himſelfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There were certaine things that made the retreat of Pompeys men very difficult and hazardous. For, hauing aſcended from a bottom to a Hill,

There is a great part of the hiſtorie in this place omitted.

Cesar.

Alie sunt Legiones partes, etque Imperatores.

Hill, they now found themſelues vpon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreat downe againe, they flood in feare of our men, preacing on the higher ground, neither was it farre from ſunne-ſetting; for, hoping to end it ſpeedily, they drew out the buſines vntill it was almoſt night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a reſolution from the time, and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of ſhot. There hee made a ſtand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the ſame time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to ſeparate and diſtraſt our troopes, aſſaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be ſuccoured from the next Guarriſons. In one place, Volatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, ſuſtained the aſſault of a Legion, & made them forſake the place. In another part, the Germaines ſallying out of our works, ſlew many of the Enemy, & returned back to their fellows in ſafety. So that in one day, there were ſixe ſeueral fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account beeing taken, there were ſeuen ſaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thouſand; with many Centurions, and other ſpeciall men, called out to that warre. Amongſt whom, was Valerius Flaccus, the ſonne of L. who, beeing Prator, had obtained the Province of Aſia: beſides, there were ſixe Enſignes taken. Our Partie, loſt not aboue twentie men in all thoſe fights: howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt.

Four Centurions of one Cohort loſt their eyes; and, for argument of their indauour, and great danger, they made report to Caſar, of thirtie thouſand arrows ſhot into the fort, together with a Target of one Seus, a Centurion, which was ſhewed vnto him, beeing pierced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Caſar (aſhauing well deſerued of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with ſixe hundred pound ſterling; and aduanced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefeſt Centurion, or Primipile of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes ſpecially, the fort was ſaued. For, the Cohort, hee doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour.

Pompey, hauing wrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finiſhed, he added mantlets to that part of the Campe. And after ſixe daies, hauing gotten a darke night (ſhutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them vp) in the beginning of the third watch, hee drew out his Armie in ſilence, and betooke himſelfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.



HHe breach of the Hiſtorie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nymphes, and dooth much blemiſh the beautie of this Diſcourſe: But, tor-al-much as it is a loſſe which cannot be repaired, wee muſt reſt contented with the vſe of that which remaineth.

R.

Ont

Euocati.

Millibus ducentis aris.

Primipilus.

Out of which, we may obserue the notice they tooke of well deseruing: according to the institution of their discipline, supported specially by *Premium* and *Pæna*. The recognition whereof (according to the iudgement of the grauest Law-giuers) is the meane to raise a State to the height of perfection. *Eo enim impendi laborem et periculum, unde emolumentū et honos speratur*. The Romaines, saith Polybius, crowned the valour of their souldiers with eternall honours. Neither did any thing so much excite them to the achievement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Ensignes of publike renowne: which Cæsar specially obserued about the rest. For besides this which he did to Calsius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of these warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a souldier, that caried himselfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leaving his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Salust hath made in this kind, is too generally obserued, that it more importeth a Common-weale to punish an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a virtuous desire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes insufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon necessity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, should first kill the beast, as Hercules did: but, to kill a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not so auailable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuata giueth another rule, obserued in that gouernment, which is the true Idea of Perfection: *En la casa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni sera, merito sin premio, ni colpa sin pena*.

Solus. Plato 5
de leg.
lib. 4.
Lib. 6.

In vita Cæsaris

In republ. multis
prestat benefici
quoniam multisque
immensum effe
ctum; quoniam si
vix meritis, et
meritis impendi
or. Salus. Inqur

CHAP. XX.

Cæsar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.



Cæsar.

Ætolia, Acarnania, & Amphilois, being taken by Calsius Longinus, and Calsius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæsar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that course: whereupon he sent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Calsius, with his Cohorts. Their coming being bruited abroad,

Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Isthmus, to keepe out Eulsius. Calenus in the meane time, with the fauour and assent of the States, tooke in Delphos, Thebes, & Orcoleonum, besides some other places, which he tooke by force. The rest of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cæsars party, by Embassages sent about vnto them: & therein was Eulsius occupied for the present. Cæsar, euery day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to see if Pompey would accept of batell; in so much as he led them vnder Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within shot of the Rampter. Pompey, to hold the same & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, & so imbatelled them before his Camp, that their reerward did touch the

Rampter;

Rampter and the vvhole Army was so disposed, that euery man was vnder the protection of such weapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were doing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Cæsar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one whom Scipio had formerly so commended to Cæsar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neereſt fauourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect: that he had vsed all meanes for peace, and yet had preuailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of such as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey there-of in an vnseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that he might not onely deliuer freely what he thought fitting, but might also (in some sort) restrain him, and reforme his error. For, being Commaunder in chiefe, ouer an Army; besides his credit, he had strength to compell him. Which, if he did, euery man would attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Provinces, and the safetie & preservation of the Empire, to him onely. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the first daies, was well heard: but afterwards, could not be admitted to speech; Fauonius, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards he vnder stood vpon the ending of the war: vherely he was forced to returne to Cæsar, without effecting any thing.

Cæsar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe in Pompeis Canallie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and shutte vp two passages (vvhich, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, vnderstanding that his horse had no good abroad, within a few daies, conuained them within his fortification by shipping. Howbeit, they were in extreme necessitie, and want of forrage: in so much, as hauing beaten off all the leaues of the trees, they fed their horses with young Reedes, bruised, and beaten in peeces. For, they had sent the Corne which was sowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and Acarnania, by long & tedious navigation; and where it fell short, they made it up with Barly, and so kept life in their horses: but afterwards, when-as not onely their Barly, and other food was spent in all places, & the grasse & hearbs dried up, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses being so leane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

Et morsu spoli-
are iuuimus, le-
thumque minime
res, velut ab ig-
nibus diuisa ra-
diatim herbas.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may seem a cunning trick of Cæsar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauor with faire pretences, to ingage Scipio so far in contriuing a Peace, as being General of an Armie, he might assume vnto himselfe a commanding authority; and there-vpon, bred such a jealousy, as would keepe Pompey and him asunder.

Neuerthelesse, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make ouertures of peace howsoeuer: especially considering, how it changeth the relation in the

R 2.

CON-

So laenam dele-
ratur, Iuliam et
propterea: si
malum, laud
duntaxat. Liv
lib. 8.
Nihil est quod
non expugnet
peritiam opera-
et uictoria et di-
ligens cura. Se-
nect. ii. 6. Epi. 51

condition of men, which in warre, is *Homo homini Lupus*, and in peace, *Homo homini Dens*. And, prouing good, will doubtlesse continue, if inconuenient, the sooner broken; and so the case is but the same it was before.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing so difficult, but pertinacie and restlesse labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end overcome it: For, Caesar, that at the first seemed to vndertake impossibilities, going about to besiege a great part of a Countrey, & to shutt vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuertheless (by indeauour) bring the to such extremitie of want, that if, as Democritus said, the Bodie should haue put the mind in lute, for reparation of losse, which her ambition and wilfull obstinacie had drawne vpon it, thce would neuer be able to pay damages.

Touching the *Isthmus*, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, ioyning an Island vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called *Portum* (wher vpon the towne of Portsmouth in Hamphire hath that appellation, as lied vpon the like Inlet) so any final lenger, or neck of earth, lying betweene two Seas, is called *Isthmus*. Whereof, this of Achaia is of speciall note in Greece; beeing the same that ioyned Peloponnesus to the Continent, & was of speciall fame for the site of Corinth.


These necks of earth, called *Isthmus*, are of the nature of those things, as haue been often threatened, and yet continue the same. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes haue fought to alter the fashion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their desires haue sorted to no end. *Perfodere namigabili Alueo has angustias tentauere Demetrius Rex, Dissator Caesar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, insauflo ut omnium patuit exitu incepto*. In the time of King Scelsotris, and since, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-sea into Nile; but fearing it would be a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterprife. And it may be vpon like consideration, or other wise, fearing to correct the workes of Nature, they forbore to make a passage betwene *Nembris de Dios*, and *Panama*: and so to ioine one sea to the other, as was said to be intended.

Plin. lib. 4. ca. 4.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of Sauoy, in Caesars Armie.

Caesar.

 Here were in Caesars Campe, two bretheren of Sauoie, *Rocillus* and *Aegus*, the sonnes of *Abucillus*, who for many yeeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: these were men of singular worth, and had done Caesar verie great seruire in all the vvarres of Gallia; and in that respect, Caesar had aduanced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and caused them

them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and bestowed much of the Enemies lands vpon them, besides great summes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

These men were not onely well respected by Caesar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Caesars fauour, and puffed up with foolish & barbarous arrogancie; they disdaind their owne men, deceiuing the horsemen of their pay, and auerting all pillage from publique distribution, to their owne particular. The horsemen, prouoked with these iniuries, came all to Caesar, and complained openly thereof: adding further, that their troopes were not full, nor answerable to the List or Muster-role, by which they required payment.

Caesar, thinking it no fit time of punishment, and withall, attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and chid them privately, for making a gaine of their troopes of horse; willing the Cavalrie to expect a supply of all their wants fro his fauour, according as their seruire had well deserued. Neuertheless, the matter brought them into great scandall and contempt with all men: Which they plainly perceived, both by the speeches of other men, as also by that they might iudge themselves, their owne consciences accusing them. With which reproach, and shame, they were so moued & thinking peraduenture that they were not quit thereof, but deferred vntill some other time) that they resolved to leaue the Armie, to seek new fortunes, and make proofe of other acquaintances. And, hauing imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom they durst communicate so great a disloyaltie, first they went about to kill *C. Volusenus*, Generall of the horse (as after the vwarre was ended was discovered) that they might come to Pompey, vpon some deserued seruire: but after they found it hard to accomplish, they tooke vp as much money as they could borrow, as though they meant to haue paid their troopes, what they formerly had defrauded them of; and hauing bought many horses, they went to Pompey, together with such as were acquainted with their purposes.

Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of sort, liberally brought vp, attended with a great retinew, and many horses, and both of them very valiant, & in good account with Caesar; and withall, for that it was an vnusall and strange accident, he ledde them about the works, and shewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either souldier, or horseman, had fledde from Caesar to Pompey; where-as daily they came fro Pompey to Caesar: especially, such as were inrolled in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Caesars denotion.

These two Bretheren, exactly vnderstanding all things in Caesars Campe (as well concerning such works as were perfect, as such others wherein men skilfull in warre might find defect; together with the opportunitie of time, & distances of places: as also the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of euery man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

Panem semper
ante oculos ver-
sari putant qui
peccauerunt.
Cic. in orati. pro
Milon.

OBSERVATIONS.

NE may heere obſerve the ſinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commanders in the Romaine Armie, by the ſcandall theſe two Sauoiens ranne into, for making falſe Muſters, and defrauding the ſouldiers of their due: A matter ſo ordinarie in theſe our times, as cuſtome ſeemeth to iuſtifie the Abufe. For, what more common in the courſe of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by muſtering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the ſouldier to their own benefit? The firſt wherof, if it be duellie weighed, is an offence of a high nature againſt the State; and the ſecond, ſuch an iniurie to the ſouldier, as can hardly be answered.

It is merilie (as I take it) ſaid by Collumella, That, *in ſero conceſſum latrocinium*. But, for thoſe to whom is committed the ſafety of a kingdom, to betray the truſt reposed in them, by raiſing their meanes with dead payes, & conſequently, ſteading the Cauſe with dead ſeruice; as alſo, by diſabling their Companions & fellow-ſouldiers, from doing thoſe duties which are requiſite, for want of due entertainment, is a thing deſerving a heauie cenſure, & will doubtleſſe fall out vnto them, as it did to theſe two Bretheren. The ſequell wherof, will appeare by the ſtorie, and confirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinquant impia et nefaria hominum facta*.

Lib. 5. Cyrop.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Caſars
Partie to great loſſe.

Caſar.

Pompey, being informed of theſe things, and hauing formerly reſolved to breake out, as is already declared, gave order to the ſouldiers, to make them coverings for their Morions, of Oſiers, and to get ſome ſtore of Banius and Fagots: which being prepared, hee ſhipped a great number of the light-armed ſouldiers, and Archers, together with thoſe fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threeſcore Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizan, and ſent them to that part of the fortification which was next vnto the Sea, and furtheſt off from Caſars greateſt Campe. Thither alſo he ſent the ſhippes before mentioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together with as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gave directions how euery man ſhould imploy himſelfe.

Caſar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treafurer, with the Legion newly enrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for that he was ſickly, and of an ill diſpoſition of body, had ſubſtituted Fulvius Poſthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of fifteene foote deepe, and a Rampier againſt the Enemy, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about ſixe hundred foote from that place, was raiſed another Rampier, with the front the contrary way, but ſome-what lower then the former. For, ſome few daies before, Caſar (ſeeking that place, leaſt our men ſhould bee circumvented with their ſhippes) had cauſed double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peradventure) they ſhould bee put to their ſhifts, they might neuertheleſſe make good reſiſtance. But the greatneſſe of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications being caried eightene miles in circuit, would not ſuffer them to finiſh it, whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea ſhore, to ioyne theſe two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by theſe two Sauoiens, & brought great damage and loſſe to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard vpon the Sea; ſuddainly, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; which ſeemed very ſtrange vnto our men: and inſtantly there-vpon, the ſouldiers from a ſhipboard, aſſaulted with their weapons, the inner Rampier; and the reſt began to fill up the Trench.

The legiſonary ſouldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuſe the Enemy with weapons, and Engines of all ſorts; and a great number of Archers were thronged together on each ſide. But, the coverings of Oſiers which they were on their head-peeces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of ſtones, which was the onely weapon our men had for that purpoſe. And as our men were ouer-laid with all theſe things, and did hardly make reſiſtance, they found out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betwene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and ſo driving them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarum being heard, Marcellinus ſent certaine Cohorts to ſuccour our men: who ſeeing them ſlie, could neither reſſure them by their coming, nor withſtand the furie of the Enemy themſelves: in ſomuch, as what reliefe ſo-euer was ſent, was diſtracted by the feare and aſtoniſhment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retreat was hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer being grievouſly wounded, and fainting for want of ſtrength, looking towards the horſemen; This haue I, ſaid he, in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the ſame fidelitie doe reſore it vnto Caſar: ſuffer not (I pray you) ſuch a diſhonour, the like wherof, neuer happened in Caſars Armie, but returne it vnto him in ſafety: by which accident, the Eagle was ſaued; all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort being ſlaine, but the firſt of the Manple of the Principes: and now the Enemy, with great ſlaughter of our men, approached nere Marcellinus Campe.

The reſt of the Cohorts being greatly aſtoniſhed, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was ſcene to come downe from the upper ground, with twelue Cohorts. Vpon whoſe coming, Pompeis Partie

was

was repressed and flayed, and our men some-what reassured, giving them time to come againe to themselves, out of that astonishment. And not long after, Caesar having knowledge thereof by smook made out of the Forts, according to the use of former time, came thither also, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarizans.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old saying, that Thieues handfell is alwaies naught. But Traytors handfell is much worse: as appeareth by the falling away of these two Sauoiens; who were the first that left Caesar in this war, and the first that brought Pompey good fortune: themselves standing culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the course whereof, we may see plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be still attempting vpon an Enemie, so it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for, while Pompey stood vpon the defensiu ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Caesar. And doubtlesse, he that obserueth Caesars proceedings in the carriage of all his wars, shall find his fortune to haue specially growne, from his actiue and attempting spirit.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may see verified, that which Paterculus affirmeth of Mithridates, That a valiant spirit is sometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

For these titles of degrees, as *Princeps prior*, and the rest here mentioned, hauing formerly discoursed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their discipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumball out a volume with distastefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Caesar purposeth to alter the course of Warre;
attempteth to cut off one of Pom-
peys Legions.

Caesar.



Caesar, vnderstanding of the losse, and perceiuing that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the Sea, in such sort as he might freely goe out to furrage, & haue no lesse access with shipping then formerly hee had; changing his course of warre, which had not succeeded to his expectation, he incamped himselfe fast by Pompey. The works beeing perfected, it was obserued by Caesars Discoverers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the

Campe.

Campe. The site of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Caesars ninth Legion, opposing themselves against Pompeys forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning vnto a wood, and not distant from the sea aboue foure hundred pases. Afterwards, Caesar, changing his mind for some certaine causes, transferred his lodging some-what further off from that place. A few daies after the same Campe was possess'd by Pompey. And forasmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier standing, hee enlarged the fortification, so that the lesser Campe beeing included in the greater, serued as a Castle or Citadell to the same. Besides also, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, foure hundred pases out-right, to a Riuer, to the end the souldiers might waeter freely, without danger. And he also changing his mind, for some causes not requisite to be mentioned, left the place too: so that the Campe stood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the first.

The Discoverers brought newes to Caesar, that they had sene an Ensigne of a Legion caried thither. The same was likewise confirmed, from certaine Forts which stood vpon the higher grounds. The place was distant from Pompeys Campe, about D. passis. Caesar, hoping to cut off this legion, and desirous to repaire that daies losse, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a shew of fortifying, and he himselfe (by a contrarie way, in as conert a manner as he could) leade the rest of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongst whom was the ninth legion, that had lost many Centurions, and was very weake in souldiers) towards Pompeys legion, and the lesser Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet assaulling it speedily with the left Corner, wherein he himselfe was, hee drane Pompeys souldiers from the Rampier. There stood a Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occasion of resistance for a while: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantly defended the Campe. T. Pulcio, by whose meanes C. Antonius Armie was betrayed, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there most valiantly: yet neuertheless, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting vp the Turne-pick, entered first into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and slew many that resisted, of the legion that was forced thither.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and specially in warre, doth in a small moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Caesars right Corner, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier which went along from the Campe to the Riuer, seeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it ioyned to the Riuer, they presently got ouer it, no man resisting them; and all the Cavalrie followed after those Cohorts.

* Eritius.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



Ompey, hauing cleered his Armie of that siege, it booted not Caesar to prosecute his purpose any longer: for, when the end is missed, for which any course is vnderaken, it were folly to seeke it by that meanes. We must rather chuse new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which is no way disabled: for, Albeit a wife man doth not alwaies keep one pace, yet still he holdeth one and the same way.

Sapiens non semper in viam graditur, sed vna via.
Magna negotia magnis cum periculis suscipiuntur. Herodotus.
Fortuna omnia expensis, committitur acceptis. Horatius.
Fortis in statu rationis mortalium, sola utrumque periculi nam facit. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 7.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wisdom of the heathen world ascribed all to Fortune, as the sole cause of all Markable euents; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the course of things: *Clades in bello accepta, non semper ignauia, sed aliquando Fortuna temeritati sunt imputanda*, saith Archidamus; and is that which is ayimed at by Caesar.

CHAP. XXIII.

The fight continueth, and Caesar loseth.

Caesar.



In the meane while, Pompey, after so long a respite of time, hauing notice thereof, tooke the first Legion from their works, and brought them to succour their fellows: and at the same time, his Cavalry did approach neere our horsemen; and our men that possessed the Campe, did discover an Army imbatelled comming against them: and all things were suddainlie changed. For, Pompeys legion, assured with a speedy hope of succour, began to make resistance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Caesars Cavalry, being got ouer the Rampier, into a narrow passage, fearing how they might retire in safetie, beganne to sue away. The right Cornet, secluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiuing the terrour of the horsemen (least they might be endangered within the fortifications) betooke themselves to the other side, from whence they came: and most of them (least they should be surprised in the fraites) cast themselves ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and such as first got ouer, being troden vnder-foote, by such as followed after; the rest, saved themselves, in passing ouer their bodies.

The soldiers of the left Cornet, perceiuing from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne side fledde away, fearing least they should be shut up in those straights, hauing the Enemy both without and without them, thought

thought it their best course to retorne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: insomuch, as when Caesar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that fledde, and commaunded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, forsaking their horses, kept-on their course: neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding in this so great a calamity and mischance, these helps fel out to relieue vs; that Pompey fearing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men sue out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neere the fortifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, did hinder the horsemen from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was carried from the Campe to the River (Pompeys Campe being already taken) was the onely hindrance of Caesars expedite and easie victory: and the same thing, hindering the speedy following of their horsemen, was the onely safetie and help of our men.

In these two fights, there were wanting of Caesars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felginas, Tuticanus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agranius, of Puteols, Sacrativirius, of Capua, sine Tribunes of the souldiers, and thirte Centurions. But the greatest part of these perished in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the River bankes, prest to death with the feare and flight of their fellows, without any blowe or wound giuen them. There were lost at that time, thirte two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, vpon that fight, was saluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be stiled: howbeit, he vsed it not in any of his Misdeeds, nor yet wore any Lawrell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labiens, hauing begged all the Captiues, caused them (for greater ostentation) to bee brought out in publike; and to giue the more assurance to such as were fledde there, from Caesars partie; calling them by the name of fellow souldiers, in great derision asked them whether old souldiers were wont to sue; and so caused them all to be slaine.

Pompeys partie tooke such an assurance and spirit vpon these things, that they thought no further of the course of war, but carried themselves as though they were already Victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disadvantage of the place, and the straightnesse thereof, the Campe being possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: nor yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in such sort as neither of them were able to help or succour the other. Neither yet did they add to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant encounter, or in forme of battell, but that they received more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of warre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of suddaine feare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie losses; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

bune, the Armie is misordered: but as though they had overcome by true force of their prowesse, & that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Omeitmes we may thinke to repaire a losse, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the saying be common, that A man must seek his coate where he lost it, as Dicere do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in seeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humane affaires, being caried round in a course, doth not suffer happinesse to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Myrtilene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing else but going vp and downe. The life of a souldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either sexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happinesse of Aduersitie, and Mischaunces of Good-happe; as if the Cause of all caufes, by intermixing sweet with fower, would lead vs to his Providence, and consequently to himselfe, the first Moouer of all Motions.

The diuersitie of these euents are so in chained together, as one seemeth to haue relation to the other: for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Asia, without rub or counterbuste. But the businesse was disposed, heere to receiue a blowe, & there to gaine a victory: And so, this losse at Dyrrachium, made the battell at Pharsalia the more glorious; and beautified the course of this warre, with variety of chances. The best vse of these Disasters, is that which Croesus made of his crosse fortunes, *Mei casus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere disciplina*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



S the Mathematicks, by reason of their certaintie, doe admitt demonstration, as well from the conclusion to the principles, as from the principles to the conclusion: so, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to assigne the precedent causes, by the sequell; the euent, beeing oftentimes an vnderstanding Iudge of things that are past. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the cause of Labienus leauing Caesar, yet his insolent cariage towards these Captiues, may make at least a probable coniecture, that his reuolt proceeded from his owne disposition, rather then from any cause on Caesars behalte. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he will neuer cease heaping one wrong after another, and all to iustifie his first error: Where-as on the other side, a noble spirit, free from ill desert, will demeaune himselfe, answerable to his first innocencie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Caesar speaketh to the Souldiers concerning this mishap, and forsaketh the Place.



Caesar, beeing driuen from his former purposes, resolved to change the vvhole course of the warre; so that at one & the same time omitting the siege, and withdrawing the Guarisons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there spake vnto the souldiers: exhorting them not to thinke much at those things that had happened, nor to be amuz'd therewith; but to counterpoise this losse (which was in a mediocritie) with manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace both the Provinces of Spaine full of warlike men, and directed by skilfull and practised Commanders; that they also had subdued the fertile bordering Provinces: and likewise, that they should remember, with what facilitie they were all transported in safetie through the midst of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Elauens and Ports, but all the coast being full of shipping.

If all things fell not out prosperously, Fortune was to bee helped by their industrie. The losse which was received, might bee attributed to any man rather then vnto him: for, he had giuen them a secure place to fight in; had possesst himselfe of the Enemies Campe; driuen them out, and overcome them in fight. But whether it were their feare, or any other error, or Fortune herselfe, that would interrupt a victorie already gained, euery man was now to labour to repaire the damage they had sustained, with their valour: vvhich if they did indeauour, hee would turne their losse into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Gergonia; that such as before were afraid to fight, did of their owne accord, offer themselves to battell.

Having ended his speech, hee displaced some Ensigne-bearers. The Armie, there-vpon, conceined such a grieffe of the blowe that was giuen them, and such a desire they had to repaire their dishonour, that no man needed the command either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest desire of fighting: in somuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requisite to continue in the place, and referre the cause to a battell. But contrariwise, Caesar was not assured of the terrified souldiers, and thought it expedient besides, to interpose some time for the settling of their minds: fearing likewise, least he should be straitned through scarcity of Corne, vpon the leauing of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay giuing order for such as were

S.

wounded

Caesar.

The Philosopher Crator, was wont to say, that To be no occasion of an ill hap, is a great comfort in any manner of aduersity. Plin. in consilio Apo.

Ignominia mortis.

Humana res resoluta est, quae rotata semper, ad eam sortem non finit. Herodot. lib. 1.

Habet has vires conditio mortis, cum, ut aduersa ex secundis, secundum ex aduersis nascitur. Plin. in Panegy.

Herodot. lib. 1.

Uerumto et si fletu iudice non impetretur deus, ergo. Guich. lib. 5.

wounded and Icke; as soone as it was night, hee commaied all the cariages secretly out of the Campe, and sent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding them to rest untill they came to their lodging; & sent one legion withall to conuoy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the rest, beeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee sent them the same way. And after a little pause (for the obseruing of Military order, and to the end his speedy departure might not be discovered) he commaunded them to take up the cry of trusing up their baggage; and presently setting forward, ouertooke the former troope, and so went speedily out of the sight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpose, made no delay to follow after: but assembling at the same things, either to take them incombred in their march, or astonished with feare, brought forth his Armie, and sent his horsemen before, to stay the Rearward. But Caesar went with so speedy a march, that he could not ouertake them, untill hee came to the River Genusus; where, by reason of the high and vnegie banks, the Cavalrie ouertooke the taile of the Armie, and engaged them in fight. Amongst whom, Caesar opposed his horsemen, and intermingled with them foure hundred expedite souldiers, of them that had place before the Ensignes: who so much prevailed in the encounter, that they draue them all away before them, slew many of them, and returned themselves in safetie to their troopes.

Caesar, hauing made a iust daies march, according to his first determination, and brought his Armie ouer the River Genusus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer-against Alparagus, and kept all the souldiers within the Rampier commaunding the horse that went out to forrage, to be presently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Libert that of Cato be true, that an Errour in fight is not capable of amendment: yet out of that which happeneth amisse, may alwaies be some-what gathered, to repaire the disadvantage, and to dispose a Partie to better carriage for the future. Accordingly we may note Caesars notable temper and demeanour, after so great a losse; recalling the courage of his souldiers, & setting their minds in a course of good resolution, with as many valuable reasons as humane wilddom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experience & vse of Armes, or their assuredness after so many victories, or what other thing foueuer, that made the excell all other Armies, had bene vtterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better furtherance where in, he thought it fit to vse the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is said of griefe, If reason will not grieve an

*Prætorum de-
licta emendatio-
nem non accipi-
unt. P. Regius. lib.
1. cap. 14.*

end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderstood of any other passion of the mind: which cannot possible be so great, but time will consume it.

*Non doliendi,
qui consilio non
fecerit, tempore
inuenit. Senec.
Epist. 64.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He second thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Caesars retreat; beeing as exquisite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any storie: and is the rather to be considered, forasmuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and worthie the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occasions, to make a safe and sure retreat. For, those that can doe nothing else, can easily put themselves into a vvarre: but, to returne them home againe in safetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the causes, that may moue a Commander to dislodge himselfe, and to leaue his Adversarie for a time: but, the means to doe it safely depend specially vpon these two points: The one is, to aduance himselfe onward at first, as farre as possibly he can, to the end he may get the start, before the enemy be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell against King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thousand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thousand horse, that preaced hard vpon them, for six hundred leagues together. Which retreat is exactlie storied by the said Author, in seauen bookes containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongst which, we find this passage.

It much imported vs, saith hee, to goe as farre at first as possible we could; to the end wee might haue some aduantage of space before the Enemy, that preaced so neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-stirp them for a daies journey or two, it was not possible for them to ouertake vs; forasmuch as they durst not follow vs with a small troope, & with great forces they could neuer reach vs: besides the scarcitie and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that consumed all before them.

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Caesar ordered his retreat: for, he got the start of Pompey to farre the first day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noon, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouer-take him.

The second thing for the assuring of a retreat is, So to provide against the incombrances of an Enemy, that hee may not find it easie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreats which may any way be taken from example of Beasts, that of the Wolfe is most commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduersaries; and shewes such teeth, as are not to be trusted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Caesar: for, howsoeuer the body of his Armie retreated one way, yet they turned so terrible a countenance towards the Enemy, as was not to be indured. And vpon these two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreat.

Howbeit, for the better furtherance hereof, it shall not bee impertinent to adde heere-vnto some inuentions, practiced by great Commanders, which may serue to amuse an Enemie, vvhile a Generall doth prepare himselfe to obserue the former points.

Linit. 31.

King Philip of Macedon, desirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, sent a Herald to the Confull, to demaund a cessation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purposed to performe the next day, with some cate and solemnitie. Vvhich beeing obtained, hee dislodged himselfe secretly that night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Linit. 27

Hanniball, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commanded by the Confull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which stood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Pauillions and Lodgings, with some few Numidians, to shew themselves vpon the Rampier, hee departed secretly towards Puteolis. As soone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their custome) approaching the Countercarpe, the Numidians shewed themselves; and then suddainly made after their fellows, as fast as their hotties could carry them. The Confull, finding a great silence in the Campe, sent two Light-horsmen to discouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

Tab. 2. de bello
Cant.

In like manner, Vartus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vitica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie secretly into the Towne.

Front. lib. 1.
cap. 1.

Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off short; the better to couer his departure, made shew of making greater prouision of forrage then hee was accustomed: conferences the next day: made great store of fires in his Campe; and then in the night escaped away.

The Persians, in the voiage which Solymán the Turke made against them, in the yeere one thousand five hundred fiftie foure, beeing driuen to a place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, set them all on fire, in the passage of the Turkes Armie: which burned to furiouslie, as the Persian escaped before the Enemie could passe by the fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar goeth-on in his retreat: Pompey
ceaseth to follow him.

(..)



In like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for that the souldiers were not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the vvarkes were whole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get wood, and to seeke forrage. Others, rising hastily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the necessity of the last nights lodging, left their Armes, and went backe to fetch those things that were behind. Insomuch, as Cæsar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceived how it would fall out) about high noone gave vvarning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee went from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of his souldiers.

The next day, Cæsar, hauing in like manner sent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there were any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be ready with the whole Armie. The like hee did the daies following: by which it happened, that in his passage ouer great Riuer, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, hee received no detriment or losse at all. For, Pompey being laied the first day, and afterwards strining in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not overtaking vs, the fourth day gave-over following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cæsar, as well for the accommodating of his wounded men, as also for paying the Armie, reasurring his Allies and Confederates, & leaving Guarixons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gave no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For, fearing least Domitius should beeing ingaged by Pompeys arrivall, hee desired to make towards him with all possible celeritie: his whole purpose and resolution, insisting vpon these reasons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee should by that meanes draw him from the Sea-side, and from such prouisions of vvarre as hee had stored up at Dyrrachium: and so should compell him to vnder-take the vvarre, vpon equall conditions. If hee went ouer into Italie, hauing ioyned his Armie with Domitius, hee would goe to succour Italie by the way of Illiricum. But, if hee should goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exclude him from all the Sea-coast, he would then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

S 3.

And

Cæsar.

And therefore, hauing writ and sent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leaving foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Lissus, and three at Oricum, and disposing such as were weake through their wounds, in Epirus and A-carnania) he set forward.

OBSERVATIONS.

L. 6. s. de Mili.
R. cap. 14.

L. 6. l. 1. cap. 1.



Onseto iusto itinere eius diei, saith the storie. Which giueth occasion to inquire, how far this iust daies journey extended. Lip-sius saith, it was twentie-four miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; *Militari gradu* (saith he) *viginti millia passuum horis quing; dantaxat Astiuis consicienda: pleno autem gradu qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor*; vnderstanding *iustum iter*, to bee so much as was measured *militari gradu*. But he that knowes the marching of an Arnie, shall easilie perceiue the impossibilitie of marching ordinarie twentie-four miles a day. Besides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, first, hee saith that hee made a iust daies journey: and then againe, rising about noone, doubled that daies journey, and went eight miles. Which shewes, that their *iustum iter* was about eight mile: and so fureth the slowe conueiance of an Arnie, with more probabilitie then that of Lipsius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey hasteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth of the ouerthrowe.

Cæsar.



Pompey also, considering at Cæsars purpose, thought it requisite for him to hasten to Scipio, that he might succour him if Cæsar should chauce to intend that way: but if it so fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-shore, and Coreyra, as expecting the legions and Cavalrie to come out of Italie, he would then attack Domitius. For, these causes, both of them made haste, as well to assise their Parties, as to surprize their enemies, if occasion were offered: but Cæsar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia, where-as Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Candania. To which there happened an other incouenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodged hard by Scipios Campe, was now departed from thence, to make provision of Corne, vnto Heraclea Sentica, which is subiect to Candania; as though Fortune would haue thrust him vpon Pompey. Moreover, Pompey had writ to all the States and Prouinces, of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater termes then the thing it selfe was: and had noised it abroad, that Cæsar was beaten, had lost all his forces, and fled away.

Which

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Cæsars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing sent, both from Cæsar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cæsar, were forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbeit, some of the followers of Rosillus and Argus (who as is before shewed, had fled vnto Pompey) meeting on the way with Domitius Discouersers (whether it were out of their old acquaintance, hauing liued together in the warres of Gallia, or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all what had happened; not omitting Cæsars departure, or Pompeis coming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and being but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) auoide a most eminent danger, and met with Cæsar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the frontiers of Thessalia.

OBSERVATIONS.



Oy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie so wide, as it letteth out the foule, which returneth not again. And in like manner, the causes of all such exultations, doe for the most part, spread themselves further then is requisite.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaste of humane adions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, rising in the course thereof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the euent shall censure it. Where-vpon, the Russes haue a saying in such cases, that Hee, that laughs afterward, laughs too: as Cæsar did.

Humanarū ac-tionum felicitas infelicitasque non ē singularis: vniuerſam parti-bus que multas sunt vana, sed ex euentu indi-catur. D. auys. Hist. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæsar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.



Cæsar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gom-phos, which is the first towne of Thessalia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadors to Cæsar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; requiring also a Guarizon of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium: which was made so great, and so preuailed with them, that Androstenes, Prator of Thessalia (choosing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Cæsar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of seruants and children out of the Country, into the towne; and shutting vp the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pompey, for succour to be sent vnto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long siege. Scipio, vnderstanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium, had

had brought the legions to Larissa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theffalia.

Cæsar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantilets, Ladders, and Hurdles to be made ready for a surprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the souldiers, and shewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their wants, and supplying of all necessities) to possesse theselues, of an opulent and full towne, as also by their example, to terrifie the other Cities: and what they did, to doe speedily, before it could be succoured. Where-upon, by the singular industrie of the souldiers, the same day he came thither, giving the assault after the ninth houre (notwithstanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before sunne-setting, and gaue it to the souldiers to bee rifled: And presently remoouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in such sort, as he out-went as well Messengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

The Metropolitans, indued with the same respects, at first shutte vp their gates, and filled their walls with Armed men: but afterwards, vnderstanding by the Captiues (whom Cæsar caused to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they presently opened their gates; and by that meanes were all preserved in safetie. Which happinesse of theirs, being compared vwith the desolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theffalia (excepting them of Larissa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yielded obedience to Cæsar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotte a place plentiful of Corne, which was now almost ripe, he resolved to attend Pompeys comming; and there to prosecute the residue of that warre.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



Luic faith, that the siege of that Place which we would quicklie take, must be prosecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Cæsar obserued: for, he followed it so hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres space, or thereabouts, after he beganne to assault it. Which, Plutarch saith, was so plentifully stored of all necessarie prouision, that the souldiers found there a refection of all the miseries and wants they suffered at Dyrrachium: in so much as they seemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage: by reason of the wine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua est, quando belligerantium vrbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum esse qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in orbe sunt et bona.*

Appian saith, the Germanes were so drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had surpris'd the in these disorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainment. Hee addeth moreover (to shew the stiffnesse of the inhabitants against Cæsar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Personages, stifte-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee that

After three of the clocke in the afternoon.

Lib. 5. Scipio cum vrbem quam ante capere vellet, et vrbem.

Lib. 6. de Infula Cyri.

Bello lex antiqua iussit, ut summa. Dux. Hæc, in capite legat.

gaue the poison, sitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the reit. And as Philip, hauing taken Acroissie, in the Countrey of the Ictians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their viage: so the consideration of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good increase which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Cæsar, brought all the other Cities, vnder his commaund.

Polyb. lib. 8.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Theffalia: his Armie
conceined assured hope of
victorie.



Pompey, a few daies after, came into Theffalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios souldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vse a Pratoriall Pawillion.

Pompey, hauing strengthened himselfe, vwith an addition of another great Armie, euery man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie was increased: so that the longer they delaied the matter, the more they seemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded slowlie and deliberately in the businesse, yet it was but a daies worke, howsoeuer hee might be well pleased with authoritie and commaund; and to vse men both of Consular dignitie, and of the Pratorian order, as his vassalls and seruants.

And now they began to dispute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out those, which from yeere to yeere were to be chosen Consuls. Others begged the houses and goods of such as were with Cæsar. Besides, a great controuersie that further grew betweene them in open counsell, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prators, being absent, and imploied by Pompey against the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promise giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceiued through his greatnesse & authoritie; the rest, running a course of as great danger and labour, saw no reason (by way of contradiction) why one man should bee respected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spintker Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Cæsars Priesthood: Lentulus alleading, by way of ostentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius wanting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, trusting to Pompeys alliance. Moreover, Attius Rufus accus'd L. Afranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L.

Domitius

Cæsar.

Domitius gave out in counsell, That all such as were of the rank of Senators, should be inquired vpon by a triple Commission: and that those which were personally in the warre, should be of the Commission to iudge the rest; as well such as were at Rome, as those that did no service in this warre. The first Commission, should be to cleafe such as had well deserved, from all danger. The second, Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, every man laboured, either to haue a reward, or to be auenged of his Enemy. Neither did they thinke so much of the meanes how to overcome, as how to vse the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Cominents.

THe Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commissioners of Lewis the eleuenth, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to sell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fitted these of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and disposed of the skinner ere they had rooke the Beares: Not sparing out of their impatience to tax Pompey of spinning out the warre, for the sweetnesse he found in authoritie & command; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Insomuch, as Plutarch reporteth, That one Faunius, imitating Catos severity & freenes of speech, went about throughout all the Campe, demanding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humdour of one man, should keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thulculum? And all men, generally, stood so affected, as Pompey could not withstand their inforcements. For, as Florus saith; *Milites otium, socij morã, principis ambitum Ducis increpabant.* Onely Cato thought it not fitt, to hazard themselves vpon a desperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in molt things besides, so in this he stood alone, and could not preuaile against a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Lacere sibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij, saith the storie; which *Tabellas*, I haue translated Commissions, as best fitting our English phrase: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by historie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magistrates, as in causes criminall, did giue their voices openly & aloud, for sixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinus, a Tribune of the people, perceiving that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durst not dispose of their voices freely, and as they would, published an Ediã, that The people should giue their voices by Baloting. Which law, Tully commendeth; *Grata est tabella quæ fronte operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quod velint faciant.* And in another place, hee calleth it *Principium iustissimæ*

In orat. pro Plancio.

iustissimæ libertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the balls were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that every man might chuse as he pleased.

In criminall Causes, every man had three: one marked with A. signifying Absolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N. L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, desirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expresse by an *ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quitted or condemned. The balls which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V. R. which signified *Virragus*, that it might goe on: and the other with A. signifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Feltus noteth, *Antiquare est in modum pristinum reducere.*

And in this manner they would haue proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, being altogether mistaken, in the assurance of their happiness: the continuance whereof, depended vpon Vertue, and not vpon Fortune.

Plinius Felicitatis iustissimæ in fortuna. Dio. Hæliar. lib. 2.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an indifferent Place, prepareth to undertake him.



Promission of Corne being made, and the souldiers well resolved, to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium) Cæsar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled his troopes, first, vpon the place, and some-what remoued from Pompeis Campe: but every day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie vnder the hills whercon the Enemy lay incamped: which made his Armie daily the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen; who because they were lesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine lusty young men, chosen out of them that stood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the vse of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Cavalrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, vndergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrified vwith the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate incounter, and slew one of the two Sauoiers, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, hauing his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Cæsar to thrust himselfe into an vnequall and disadvantageous place. Cæsar, thinking that Pompey would by no meanes be drawne

Cæsar.

drawne to battell, thought it the fittest course for him to shift his Campe, and to be alwaies in moouing: hoping by often remooues from place to place, he should be better accommodated for prouision of Corne; and withall, might vpon a march, find some occasion to fight. Besides, he should wearie Pompeis Armie, not accustomed to trauell, with daily and continuall iourneys: and there-vpon, he gaue the signe of dislodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obserued, that Pompeis Armie was aduanced somewhat further from their Trenches, then ordinarily they were accustomed; so that it seemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Wherevpon, Caesar, when his troopes were already in the gates setting out; it becometh vs, saith he, to put off our remouing for the present, and bethinke our selues of fighting, as we haue alwaies desired; for, we shall not easily hereafter find the like occasion: and presently drew out his forces. Pompey also, as it was afterwards knowne, was resolued (at the instance of all that were about him) to giue battell; for, hee had giuen out in counsell some few daies before, that he would overthrowe Caesars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne battell.

And, as many that stood by wondered at it, I know, saith he, that I promise almost an incredible matter: but take the ground whereupon I speake it, that you may vndergoe the business with more assurance. I haue perswaded the Cavalrie, and they haue promised to accomplish it, that whē they come neere to ioyne, they shall attack Caesars right Cornet on the open side; and so the Army being circumvented behind, shall be amused and routed, before our men can cast a vye upon at them. Whereby, we shall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almost without any wound receiued: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are so strong in horse; and withall, gaue order that they should be ready against the next day, forasmuch as the occasion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deccie the opinion which other men had of their prowesse and valour.

Labiens, seconding this speech, as contemning Caesars forces, extolled Pompeis resolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, saith he, that this is the Army where-with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was present my selfe at all those battells, and doe not speake rashly vwhat I am ignorant off. There is a very small peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as cannot otherwise be chosen, in so many battells. The Pestilence (the last Autumne) in Italy consumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brundisium, are made and raised of such as remained behind there to recover their healths? These forces that ye see, were the last yeere gathered, of the musters made in the hither Gallia; and most of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and strength of them, was taken away in the last two overthrowes at Dyrrachium.

When he had spoken these things, he tooke a solemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the rest to doe the like. Pompey, commending him, tooke the same oath: neither was there any man that refused it. These

Prima egressum ducum iactantia: villorum sine periculo comparere. Polydorus. Strabo.

These things beeing thus caried in the counsell, they rose vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as hauing already conceiued victory in their minds: and therather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vainlie, by so skilfull a Commander, in so weightie and important a Cause.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the fashion of the Cavalrie, in which either Partie supposed so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two sorts of horsemen; the one compleatlie armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whose entertainment, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Aequi impotens postulatam fuit* (saith Liuius) *ut de stipendio equitum* (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) *era demerentur*. And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called *Alarj*.

The first sort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right side, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiver, with broad heads, and not much lesse then their stauces; hauing such head-peecees and corselets as the foote-men had.

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes, And doubtlesse, their chiefeest seruice was with their casting weapons. And accordingly, Tully putteth his somme in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commaunded a wing of horse); *Equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando*.

And, as their seruice consisted in breaking their Stauces vpon an Enemy, & in casting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our triumphs at Tils; and the Spaniards the later, in their *loco di cane*.

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do discharge at a distance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe some-what to purpose, doe come vp close one to another, and discharge his Pistol in his enemies necke, or vnder the corselet, about the flanke or seate of a man; and commonly misseeth not.

I haue seene a deuice to vse a Musket on horse-backe, which if it prooue as seruiceable as is by some conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

CHAP. XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Caſar.



S Caſar approached neere vnto Pompeis Campe, hee obſerued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of theſe broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Caſar; whereof one was called the firſt, & the other the third: and with them ſtood Pompey. Scipio had the middle Squadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spaniſh Cohorts, which Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. Theſe Pompey held to be very ſtrong. The reſt of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, which amounted to ſixtie ſix thouſand men: beſides two thouſand old ſouldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and diſperſed them ouer all the Armie. The reſt of the cohorts, which were ſeauen, he had left in the Campe, or diſpoſed about the ſorts neere adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a Riuer, that had high & cumberſome banks: and there vpon he put all his Cavalrie, together with the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

Caſar, obſeruing his former cuſtome, placed the tenth legion in the right Corner, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he ſo ioyned the eight, that he ſeemed almoſt to make one of two, and commanded them to ſuccour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himſelfe oppoſite to Pompey. And withall, hauing well obſerued theſe things (according as I haue formerly declared) ſeaving it all the right Cornet ſhould be incloſed about with the multitude of the Cavalrie, he ſpeedily drew ſix cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to encounter the horſemen: and ſhewed them what hee would haue done, admoniſhing withall, that the victorie of that day conſiſted in the valour of theſe cohorts, commanding the third battell; and likewise the whole Armie not to ioyn battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would giue them notice thereof by an Enſigne.

And going about to encourage them to fight, according to the uſe of warre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and ſpecially, that they themſelues were witneſſes, with what labour and meanes he had fought for peace, as well by treaty with Patinius, as alſo by employing Claudius to Scipio: and likewise how he had incauoured at Oricum with Lillo, that Embaſſadors might be ſent to treat of theſe things. Neither was he willing at any time to miſſpend the ſouldiers blood, or to deprive the Common-wealth of either of theſe Armies.

This

*In manus
ſcriptis
Caſar lib. 7.
Lucan. lib. 7.*

positions vpon the third

CHAP. XXXI.

in battelling their Armies.

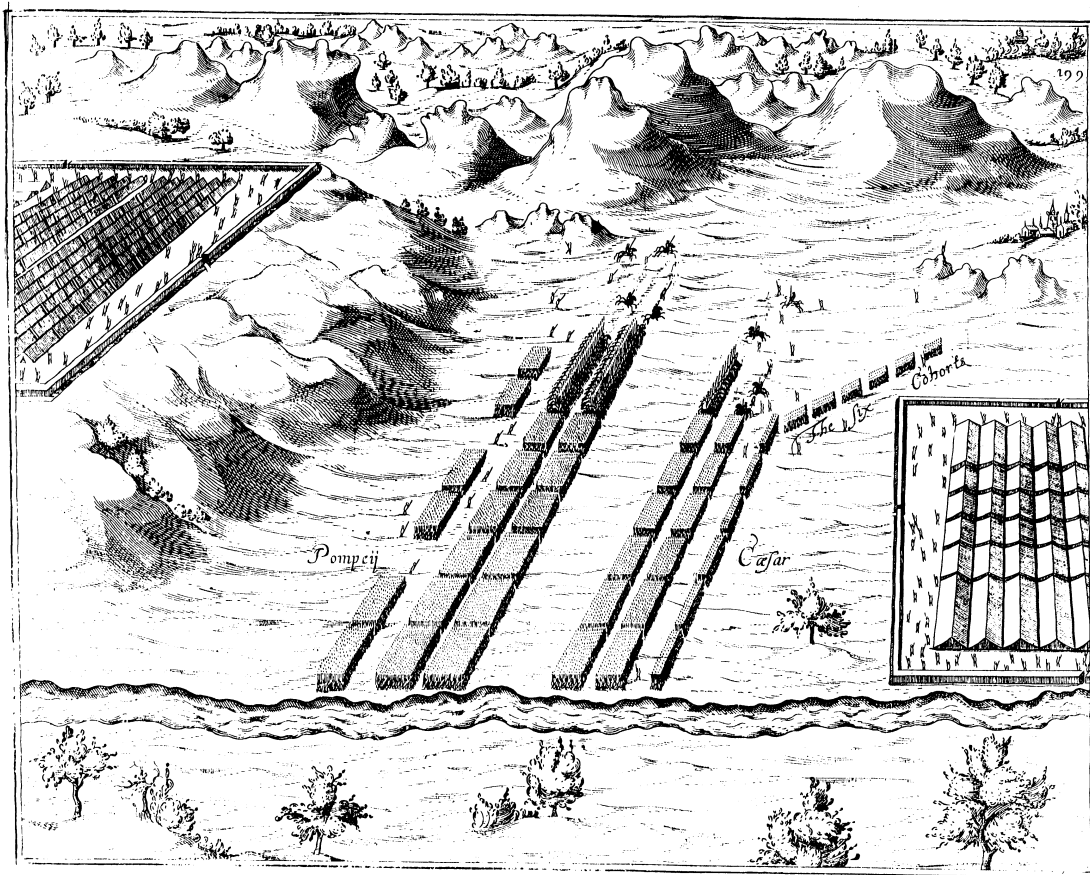
As Pompey came into Pompeii Campe, hee obserued the situation to be vntowardly in this manner; There were three vallies, and two mountains which in the beginning of these wars, were called the first, the other the third, and the middle. Pompey had the middle square about of Syria.

Hee with the Spanish Cohorts, which Afranius had sent him. These Pompey held to be very strong, and the best of his Army. Hee put the middle Squadron, and the Spanish Cohorts, which amounted to about six thousand foot soldiers, and men of note, in the middle of the Army, and disposed them once all the Army. Hee also made a ditch in the Campe, or disposed the right Cornet with a River, that hee had thereupon be put all his Cavalrie, together with the left Cornet.

Hee also placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, as they were very much weakened in the fights of the first day, that he seemed almost to make the Army to pursue each other. Hee had in all about twenty thousand men. Hee left two cohorts to keepe the right to the mountain, the rest to Pub. Vella, and the left to the river, and put himselfe opposite to Pompey. And hee thought, as hee had, as hee formerly declared, that hee had about with the multitude of his cohorts out of the third battell, & of them hee was the strongest; and hee feared them what hee would do, if the fortune of that day consisted in the middle of the third battell; and likewise the whole Army out of the third battell; which when he thought fit, hee did so by an Artifice.

Hee also made a ditch, according to the use of warre, and hee also made a ditch towards them from time to time, and hee was a witness, with what labour and paine hee had to treat with Catinus, as also by employing the same to be put in, as hee did at Oricum with his Army, and hee was not at these things. Neither was hee willing to be in a shew, or to deprive the Roman wealth

This



This speech being deliuered, the souldiers both requiring and longing with an ardent desire to fight, hee commaunded the signe of battell to be giuen by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the triall of this Cause, it appeareth by the storie, that Pompey let two Legions in his left Corner, which are heere named the first and the third. Howbeit, Lucan saith, that those Legions were the first and the fourth.

— *Cornu tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum primâ, qua tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur.* —

The middle Squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the Legions he brought out of Syria, which were also two; *Expectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas*, as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Corner, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Corner equall to the rest. And so of these fixe Legions, which were the strength and sinowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, being young souldiers, hee disposed in the distances, betweene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, saith; *Legiones secundum virtutem, firmissimas in medio, et in cornu locauit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus suppluit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-five thousand; but Plutarch maketh them not aboue fortie-five thousand.

Cæsar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Corner he put the tenth Legion, and in the left the ninth and the eight; being both weake and sarre spent, by the former ouer-throws. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it seemeth they filled vp the distances betweene the Cornets and the bodie of the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the prerogative of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke of the battell. And tearing least his right Corner should be circumuented, by the multitude of their Cavalrie, hee drew fixe Cohorts out of his third or last battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Cavalrie: which gotte him the victorie. For, howsoever the Text saith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit*: yet Plutarch saith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were fixe, and amounted to three thousand men: which riseth to the number of so many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing herunto, saith, that his fourth battell consisted of three thousand men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out fixe Cohorts, *et tenuit in subsidio, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum*: Where-vnto that of Lucan agreeth;

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.

T 2.

Which

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Singulas Cohortes detraxit.

Lib. 2. ca. 3.

Lib. 7.

Which is thus to be vnderstood: that they turned their faces towards the left Corner of Pompeis Armie, that they might see the readier to receiue the Cavalrie comming on to inclose Caesars right wing: as being sure of the other side, which was fenced with a Kiuer and a Marish.

Touching Caesars Speech to the souldiers, it seemed like that of Themistocles, at the battell of Salamina: where Xerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Persians, and lost the day: Themistocles spake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-soeuer; one thing is not to be omitted, that Plutarch, and such others as haue dipped their penne, either in the sweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Caesar had not aboute twentie thousand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Caesar ouercometh.

Caesar.



Here was one Crassinus, in Caesars Armie, called out to this vuarre, who the yeere before had ledde the first company of the tenth Legion; a man of singular valour: who vpon the signe of battell given, Follow me, saith he, as many of you as were of my company; and doe that indeuor to your Emperour, which you haue alwaies beene willing to performe.

This is the onely battell remaining unfought: which beeing ended, he shall be referred to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And withall, looking towards Caesar, I will, saith hee, O Emperour, so carry my selfe this day, that thou shalt giue mee thanks, either aliuie or dead. And when he had thus spoken, he was the first that ranne out of the right Corner: & abo: it one hundred and twentie elected souldiers of the same Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There was so much space left betwene both the battells, as might serue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Caesars assault, and to vnder-goe the shock of his Armie, without moouing from the place wherein they stood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the first running out & violence of the souldiers being broken, & the battell disordered, they that stood perfit in their Orders, might set vpon the that were scattered & dispersed; hoping, the piles would not fall so forceably vpon the Armie standing still, as when they aduanced forward to meete them: And that it would fall out withall, that Caesars souldiers, hauing twice as farre to runne, would by that meanes be out of breath, and spent with weari-ness.

Which, in my opinion, was against all reason: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacritie of spirit, naturally planted in euery man, which is inflamed with a desire to fight. Neither should anie Commander repress or restrain the same, but rather increase it, and set it forward.

Nor

Nor was it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets should euerie where sound, and euery man take up a shout; but that they thought these things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our souldiers, vpon the signe of Battell, running out with their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiving that Pompeis souldiers did not make out to meete them (as men taught with long use, and exercised in former fights) stop their course of their owne accord, & almost in the mid-way stood still; that they might not come to blowes vpon the spending of their strength: And after a little respite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and presently drew their swords, as Caesar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis souldiers wanting in this busines; for, they receiued the piles which were cast at them, tooke the shock of the Legions, kept their ranks, cast their piles, and betooke them to their swords.

At the same time, the Cavalrie, according as was commaunded them, issued out from Pompeis left Corner, & the whole multitude of Archers thrust themselves out. Whose assault our horsemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they stood: where by Pompeis horsemen, beganne to presse them with more eagerne; and to put themselves in squadrons, to inclose the Army about. Which Caesar perceiving, he gaue the signe of aduancing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; who came with such a fling vpon Pompeis horsemen, that none of them were able to stand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place, but fledde all as fast as they could, to the highest Hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, being left naked without succour, were all put to the sword. And with the same violence, those Cohorts inclosed about the left Corner, notwithstanding any resistance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, vpon their backs.

At the same time, Caesar commaunded the third Battell, which as yet stood still, and were not remooued, to aduance forward: by meanes of which fresh and sound men, relieuing such as were faint and wearie, as also, that others did charge them behind vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither was Caesar decciued in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie would growe from those Cohorts: which hee placed in the fourth Battell, against the horsemen; according as hee himselfe had openly spoken, in his encouragement to the souldiers. For, by them, first the Cavalrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers were slaine; by them, Pompeis Battell was circumnented on the left Corner, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As soone as Pompey saw his Cavalrie beaten, and perceived the part where-in hee most trusted, to be amused and affrighted, and distrustful the rest, hee forth-with left the Battell, and conuaid himselfe on horseback into the Camp. And speaking to the Centurions that had the watch at the Pratorian gate with a loud voice, as all the souldiers might heare, said, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to prevent any hard casualtytie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to settle the Guards of the Campe.

T 3.

And

And hauing thus said, hee went into the Prætorium, distrustful the maine point, and yet expecting the euent.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ompey so caried himselfe in the course of this warre, as he rather seemed a sufferer then a dooer; neuer disposing his Armie for any attempt or on-let, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was besieged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall, his souldiers should suffer and sustaine the assault, rather then otherwise. But, whether hee did well or no, hath since been in question. Cæsar vtterly disliked it, as a thing contrary to reason. *Est quædam, scilicet he, animi incitatio atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, qua studio pugnae incenditur; hanc non reprimere sed augere Imperatores debent.*

Plutarch.

Agreeable whereunto, is that of Cato the Great; that In cases of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpose it is requisite, to put the souldiers (at some reasonable distance) into a Posture of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terror; and then to spring forward in such manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wrestlers, before they buckle, stretch out their limbes, and make their flourish as may best serue to assure themselves, and discourage their aduersaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

Lucan. lib. 4.

*Ille Cleonæi proicit terga Leonis,
Antæus libici, perfudit membra liquore
Hesper, Olympiace fœrnato more Palestræ.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas.*

Howbeit, forasmuch as all men are not of one temper, but require severall fashions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee shall find severall Nations, to haue severall vñces in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæsar) were of auncient time accustomed to found Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and shout: whereby the souldiers (in their vnderstanding) were encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted. Where-as, contrariwise, the Greekes went alwaies with a close and silent mouth, as hauing more to doe then to say to their Enemies. And, Thucydides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) saith, that Instead of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite them, they vsed the sweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their passions, least they should be transported with bridleless impetuosity.

Homer. Iliad. 3.

It is reported, that Marshall Biron, the Father, seemed to dislike of our English march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too slowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it so fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then answered)

(swered)

(swered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howloeu, the euent of this battell is sufficient to disproue Pompeis errour heerein, and to make good what Cæsar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Hese fixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did so encounter Pompeis Caultrie, that they were not able to with stand them. It is said, that Cæsar gaue them order, not to sling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold the in their hands like a Pike or a lance, and make onely at the faces of those Gallants, & men at Armes on horse-back. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not vnderstand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Caultrie, Florus saith, that Cæsar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very pathetical, and effectual for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, cast right at the face; Where-as Pompey called to his Men, to spare their fellow Citizens.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeth the same thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan seemeth to auerre the same, concerning that of Cæsar;

Lib. 7.

*Aduersoque inbet ferro contundere vultus.
Frontinus hath it thus; C. Cæsar, cum in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitū Romanorum esset manus, eaque armorum scientia milites conficeret, ora oculoque eorum gladijs peti iussit, et sic aduersum faciem cadere coegit.*

Lib. 4. cap. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongst these memorialls, Crastinus may not be forgotten, being the first man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth C. Crastinus; and saith, that Cæsar seeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the successe of the battell? Crastinus, stretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæsar, thine is the victorie; and this day shalt thou commend mee, either aliu or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongst the midst of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great laughter. At last, one ranne him into the mouth, that the sword point came out at his neck, and so slew him.

In the life of Pompey.

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæsar raised from the extremitie of his wants, and the disgrace of his former losses, to the chiefeest height of earthly glory: And heerein might well assume, vnto himselfe, that which was formerly said of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, sed semper in malis maior resurrexit*; Together with that of Plutarch, *Res inuicta Romanorum*

Florus.

lib. 4.
Injelix, quanta
Dumum ver-
tute parasti?

Romanorum arma, Lucan speaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, saith; He shewed a great deale of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Crassinus, hee saith a heauie doome.

Dixi tibi non morietur, quæ cunctis pœna paratur, sed sensum post fata tua dent Crastine morti. Cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum, primaque Thessali- am Romano sanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæsar preaceth hard after the Enemy, and taketh the Campe.

Cæsar.



Pompeis souldiers being thus forced to sit into their Campe, Cæsar, thinking it expedient to giue them no time of respite, exhorted the Armie to vse the benefit of Fortune, and to assault the Campe: who, notwithstanding the extreame heate (for the busines was drawne out vntill it was high noone) were willing to vnder-goe any labour, and to yeild obedience to his commandements. The Campe was industriously defended, by the Cohorts that had the guard thereof; but much more stoutly by the Thracians, and other succours of Barbarous people. For, such souldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, were so terrified in mind, and spent with wearinesse, that most of them (hauing laid aside their Armes, and Military Ensignes) did rather thinke how they might best escape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which stood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of vva-pours; but fainting with wvounds, forsooke the place: and presently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning vnto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cuphords of plate, furnished & set out; and their Tents strewed with fresh hearbes and rushes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with lute, & many other superfluities, discovering their extreame luxurie and assurance of victorie. Whereby it was easily to be conceiued, that they nothing feared the e-nement of that day; being so carefull of such vnecessary delights. And yet for all this, they vpbraided Cæsar's patient and miserable Army, with riot and ex-cesse: to whom there were alwaies wanting such requisites, as were expedient for their necessary vses.

Pompey, when as our men were come vwith him the Campe, hauing got a horse, and cast away all Ensignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Larissa, as fast as his horse could cary him. Neither did hee stay there: but with the same speede (hauing got a few followers that escaped by flight) passing night & day, came at length to the Sea-side, with a troope of thirtie horse; and there went aboard a ship of burthen: complaining that his opinion

only

only deceived him; being (as it were) betrayed, by such as beganne first to flee: from whom hee hoped chiefly to haue had victorie.

OBSERVATIONS.



Where-as it is said, that a dilatorie course is very profitable and safe; wee are to vnderstand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embassadour, to temporise in things which are pre-ferred hard vpon him; as being accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Pro-traction is oftentimes the interrupter of absolute victorie, and the onely sup-planter of that which is desired. *Vincere sis Hamball, sed victoria vti nescis*, was a common by-word, and happened then well for the state of Rome. But now it fell out otherwise; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpose.

For, notwithstanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue seemed sufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occasion passe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceased, vntill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken those that elap-ed the battell: and so made victorie sure vnto him, by driuing the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vnfitly vse for his word or Motto, they call it, *Machiaueli*, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæsar besieged those that were escaped into the Hills.



Ac/sar, hauing got the Campe, instantly required the souldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let suppe the meanes of ending the rest of their busines: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to inclose the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, distrusting the place, or that the Hill had no water, left it at an instant. And all those that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Larissa. Which Cæsar obseruing, diuided his forces, and commanded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he sent back into his owne: leading foure Legions a-long with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and hauing gone sixe miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they perceiving, betooke themselves vnto a high Hill, vnder which ranne a River.

Cæsar, perswaded the souldiers, albeit they were spent with continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much,

Pillæ et tota res dilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non constanter legatitrimet aut loca, aut legiones, aut arces: sed verba temporis. De-most. de falsificatione.

1 Labor in nego-tio, 2 fortitudo in periculo, 3 in-dustria in agendis, 4 celertus in efficiendis, vnde Cæsar's proprietates.

Cæsar.

10

to cut off the River from the till by a fortification, to keepe them from watering in the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commissioners to treat of conditions of yielding themselves. Some few of the Senators escaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cæsar, as soone as it was day, caused them all to come downe from the hill into the Plaine, & there to cast away their Armes: which they performed without refusal. And casting themselves vpon the earth, their hands spread abroad, with shedding of many teares, desired mercie. Cæsar, comforting them, commaunded they should stand up: and having spoken somewhat touching his clemencie, a little to ease them of their feare, he gave them all their liues with safetie; commanding the souldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they should want any thing that was theirs.

These things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee caused other Legions to meet him from the Campe, sending those he had with him to rest themselves: and the same day came to Larissa. In that battaile, hee lost not above two hundred souldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee lost thirtie. And Crastinus, fighting valiantly, was slaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a sword thrust into the face. Neither was that false which hee said as hee went to the battell: for, Cæsar was perswaded, that Crastinus behaved himselfe admirably in that fight, and did deserue as well of him as a man possibly could.

There were slaine of Pompeis Armie, about fiftene thousand; howbeit, there were of them that yielded themselves, about twentie-four thousand. For, such Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewise yield themselves to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Ensignes, there were brought out of the battell to Cæsar, one hundred and fourescore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for want of strength, was slaine by the horsemen.

*Interdum micat
horatice fraus
per a moueretur
D. an. Halib. 8*

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus wee see the issue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæsar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were slaine twentie-three M. of the enemy, and as manie taken, by rendering themselves, with the losse of two hundred souldiers, and thirtie Centurions; amongst whos was Crastinus: whose death obliged Cæsar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is obserued by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Non Deus quispiam se duobus; pro salute omnium qui certamen ineunt, sponsorem sinit: nec ea conditione imperium accepimus, ut omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex nostris amisso.*

1. h. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

*Lælius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at
Brundisium: and Cassius fireth Cæsars
shippes at Melsine.*

(. . .)



ABout the same time, D. Lælius came with his Nauie to Brundisium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the Iland in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Patimius, Gouvernour of Brundisium, having furnished and sent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Lælius ships, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further shot out with two lesser shippes into the Straights of the Port: & also had disposed his Casualty along the shore, to keepe the Mariners from fetching water. But Lælius, having

Cæsar.

the time of the yeere more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie with water from Corfew and Vyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his designe, nor be driuen out of the Port, or from the Iland, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, untill hee heard of the battell in Theffalia.

About the same time also, Cassius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia. And, where-as Cæsars ships were divided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Prator, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Melsana; Cassius came first to Melsana, and was arriued before Pomponius heard of his coming: by which meanes, he surprised him, distracted, and much amused, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the shippes of burthen, with Rosin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing: and sending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the shippes, beeing in number thirtie-five; amongst which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes whereof, they conceiued such a terror, that albeit there was a legion in Guarrizon at Melsana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Messengers comming post, brought newes at the same instant of Cæsars victory, most men thought the Towne would haue beene lost: but the newes comming so opportunely, the towne was kept.

Confrate.

Cassius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the shippes beeing brought to shore, were there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Cassius, finding the wind good, sent in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire having taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, five of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the wind, the souldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shippings, and were

of

of the number of them that were sicke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the shippes from the shore; and setting vpon Cæsars fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which was Cæsars himselfe: but hee, being taken out, with a skiffe fledde away. And furthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Thessalia, so that Pompeys party believed it; for, before that time, it was thought to be but a thing giuen out by Cæsars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Cæsars departed with his Nauie, and left those places.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE branches of a Tree doe receiue life from the stocke, and the stock is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a-sunder, there remaineth no life for stock or bough, leate or branch. Accordingly it happened with this large-pred Partie; the roote whereof was then in Thessalia: and beeing broken a-sunder by the violence of Cæsars forces, it booteth not what Lælius did at Brundisium, or Cæsars, either at Messana, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-laid other petite losses whatsoeuer; beeing so powrefull, in the opinion of the world, *Et quò se fortuna, eodem etiam sauior hominum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan saith, *rapimur, quò cuncta feruntur.*

Pompeius Tri-
gus. lib. 6.
lib. 8.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæsar pursueth Pompey: who is slaine
in Egypt.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, setting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to pursue Pompey, into what parts soeuer hee should betake himselfe, least he should raise new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward euery day, as farre as his Cavalrie was able to goe; commanding one Legion to follow after by lesser iourneys. There was a publication made in Pompeys name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Prouince, as well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, should come to bee inrolled for the warre. But it is not possible to discouer, whether Pompey did it to take away all cause of suspicion, that he might the longer hide his purpose of flying away, or whether he went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howsoeuer; he himselfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his ancient Hosts and Friends, hee tooke so much money of them, as would defray his necessarie charges: and vnderstanding of Cæsars coming, within a few daies hee arriued at Atylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule weather: and

and there, reinforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he went into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee vnderstood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Cittizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell was already taken to keepe him out: and that Messengers were sent about, to those that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties, forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they should haue it with the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, who the yeere before was Consul; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignity: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came vnto the land, were neither received into the Towne nor into the Hauei; but were commanded by Messengers sent vnto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor against their will: and now, the fame of Cæsars coming, was spreadde abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-vpon, Pompey, leaving off his purpose of going into Syria, hauing taken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his private friends, and putting aboard great store of Brasles for the vse of warre; with eleuen thousand Armed men (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced up, with Marchants, and such others of his followers, whom he thought fit for this business) he came to Pelusium. There by chance was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by means of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe was not farre distant from his.

Pompey sent vnto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie hee had with his Father, hee might be receiued into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him with his wealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, hauing done their message, beganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinus receiued in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the warre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. These things being known, such as had the procuracion of the kingdome, in the minority of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, whereby Pompey might easily seize vpon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of misery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did giue a good answer publiquely to such as were sent, and willed him to come vnto the King: but, secretly plotting amongst themselves, sent Achilles, a chiefe Commander, and a man of singular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tribune of the souldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he himselfe also knowing Septimius to haue led a Company vnder him in the warre against the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was slaine, by Achilles and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus was apprehended by commandement from the King, and killed in prison.

V.

OBSER-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

WHether it be now demanded, Where was Cæsars desire of Peace? and Why hee pursued not a treatie of Composition, at this time when when as his tale would haue been heard with gladnes, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquished? The answer is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now past; and Cæsar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconciliation. The one was crept so high, and the other cast downe so lowe, that they seemed not compatible in any Medium, although it were to the sauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occasion of these warres. For, Seneca saith; Hee had brought the Common-wealth to that passe, that it could not longer stand, but by the benefit of seruitude. And he that will looke into the reasons of this confusion, shall find all those *Causæ corruptentes*, which are noted by Aristotle to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the excesse of Pompeis exorbitancie: for, hauing nothing in a Meme, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-growne, first, with too much honour: secondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Citizens; and so blemished the beautie of that State, whose chiefest graces were in a suting equalitie. And, adding to these the convulsions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing no other hope, but in the confusion of Armes.

It is said, that at his arriuall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cratippus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongst other remonitrances, the Philosopher made it plaine, that his course of gouernment, had brought a necessitie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iust Monarchie. And sith it fell to Cæsars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the seizure, he may take the benefit of the general pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Polix: That no Nation can shew a Man that is altogether blamelesse.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

OConcerning the state of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon such Provinces and kingdoms as were vnder their commandes: amongst whom one Ptolomeus, the sonne of Lagos a Macedonian, seized vpon Egypt, where he reigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his successors called by the name of Ptolomy. This first Ptolomy, possessed himselfe of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 3640: which was 275 yeres before Pompeis ouerthrow. His son that succeeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, caused the Bible to be translated out of Ebrew into Greeke by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in these vvares.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in succession from the first; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His eldest

*Pompeius ei re-
legit Kenopoli:
ut salua esse non
posset, nisi bene-
ficio remittatur.
de beneficijs. ad
5. Polit.*

*Quid nimium cu-
pitis, was written
golden Letters
at Delphos.*

*Infam bellum
esse ei, quibus
iussu in armis spe-
culata esset. Ma-
cha.*

*Quisquam Cri-
tium reprobatur,
qui possit perire
approbati.*



eldest sonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, reigned together sixe yeeres; but in the end, fell to strife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arriued: but shortly after, Cæsar so ordered the differences, that hee sette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill the came to play that tragical part with Anthony; which being ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Prouince, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Concerning this miserable end of Pompey, it is truly said of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the same end. And, forasmuch as Plutarch hath described particularly the manner of this Catastrophe, it shall not be impertinent to insert his relation thereof.

When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomey was in the City of Pelusium with his Army, making warre against his sister, hee went thither, and sent a Messenger before, vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arriuall, and to intreat him to receiue him. K. Ptolomey was then but a young man, in so much, that one Phorinus gouerned all the whole Realme vnder him. He assembled a Councell of the chiefest & wisest men of the Court, who had such credit and authoritie, as it pleased him to giue them. They being assembled, he commanded euery man in the Kings name to say his mind, touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the King should receiue him or not. It was a miserable thing to see Phorinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoole-maister to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achilles an Egyptian, to consult among themselves what they should do with Pompey the great. These were the chiefest Councillors of al his Eunuches, & of those that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue receiued him; the other also that he should be receiued. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receiue him, we shall haue Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do denie him, on the other side, Pompey wil blame them for refusing him, & Cæsar for not keeping of him; therefore this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him. For, thereby they should win the good wil of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: & some say moreover, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themselves, gaue Achilles commission to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion also, with three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But, when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, & that it was not in Princely shew nor manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher boat; they beganne then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the sea, being out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

*Mori omnium
par est: per qua
rent diuersa
sunt, id in quod
desinit omni est
eiusd. 67.
Femine sicut
romæ, aut matu-
ra cadunt, aut
acerba trahunt.
Plutar. in vida
Pompi.*

In the meane time, the fischer-boat drew neer, and Septimius tole, and saluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as foweraigne Capitaine; and Achilles also spake to him in the Greke tongue, and bade him come into his boat; because that by the shore-side, there was a great deale of mud, & sand banks, so that his Galley should haue no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the Kings Gallies, which were arming with all speed possible, & all the shore besides, full of souldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had giuen the murderer occasion to haue executed his crueltye. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe before him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his slaues enfranchised, with another slaue, called Scynes. When Achilles reached out his hand to receiue him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and sonne, and said these verses of Sophocles vnto them;

*The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage bee.*

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when hee left his owne Gally, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his Gally. When he saw neuer a man in the boat speak friendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he said vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I should know thee, for that thou hast serued with me heeretofore. The other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesie.

Pompey, seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the shore, Cornelia, with her seruants and friends about her, stood vp in her ship, in great feare, to see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the Kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through with his sword: next vnto him also, Saluius & Achilles drew out their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely fighting a little. Thus, being 59 yeres old, hee ended his life the next day after the day of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, gaue such a fearful cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weying vp their anchors with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, hauing wind at will, that blew a lustie gale. As soone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and vnpossible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing striken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him.

Philip,

Philip his enfranchised bond-man, remained cuer by it, vntill such time as the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then, hauing washed his body with salt water, & wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in, he fought vpon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fishers boat, enough to serue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As hee was busie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had serued vnder Pompey, & said vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that preparest the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, enfranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee accompany thee in so deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to haue dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery & trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burie the ondic and most famous Capitaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) comming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore-side, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight fetching a great sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long after, Caesar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murderer. Then, taking his Ring where-with he sealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding a sword, he burst out a weeping. Achilles and Photinus he put to death. King Ptolomey himselfe also, being ouer-throwne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus, vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, escaped Caesars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great misery, despised of every man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Caesar) conquering Asia, met with him by chauce, and putting him to all the tormentes he could possibly deuise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia, who buried the in a towne of hers, by the Citie of Alba.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further disturbance; *Vbicorpus demortui hominis condasacer esto.* Onely this may be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of special Noblenesse, to raise the about the comon worth of men: so their ends made them euen with the lowell of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Intervallu distinguiuntur: exitu equamur.*

*Mors Nature
loquell. Non in-
tatum officium
que mortalium.
Sen. natural.
quest. 6.
Falsu dictus
Maximus, Sci-
pio magnus. Pe-
lianus lib. 8.
Epist. 100.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the
Battell in Pharsalia. Caesar commeth
into Egypt.

This that fol-
loweth, becometh of ano-
ther stile.



Caesar, coming into Asia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus: and for that cause had called together all the Senators that were in the Prouince, that he might use them as witnesses in the matter; but, being interrupted by Caesars arrivall, hee fled away: so that two severall times, the money was saved at Ephesus by Caesars means. It was further found very certaine, that in the Temple of Minerva at Elide (a iust calculation of the time being taken) the same day that Caesar over-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which stood before Minerva, & looked towards her portraiture, did turne it selfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the same day likewise, there was such a noise of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and such sounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolemaida. And likewise at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called *aduxa*, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Priests, were belles heard to ring. Besides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (where they had consecrated an Image to Caesar) there was shewed a Palme-tree, which in those daies was growne from betwene the ioynts of the stones, out of the pavement.

Caesar, staying a few daies in Asia, hearing that Pompey was scene at Cyprus, and considering he went into Egypt, for the amities and correspondence hee had with that Kingdome, besides other opportunities of the places he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commanded to follow him out of Thessaly, and another which hee called out of Achaia, from Fulvius a Legate, together with eight hundred horse, ten Gallies of Rhodes, and a few ships of Asia. In these Legions, were not above three thousand two hundred men; the rest, were either wounded in the fights, or spent with trauell, and the length of the journey: but Caesar, trusting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with these weak forces, thinking every place would entertaine him with safetie.

At Alexandria hee vnderstood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the shippe, he heard a clamour of the souldiers, which the King had left to keepe the towne, and saw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminished. This tumult being appeased, there were often up-roares and commotions of the people for every day after; and many souldiers were slain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-upon, Caesar gaue order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Asia, which hee raised and inrolled of Pompeis souldiers.

He

The Priests of
Egypt saide,
[That when he
saw the Axe and
the bundle of
Rods, came in
to Alexandria,
the power of
the King
should present
ly decaye: ac-
cording to
the Oracle.]

He himselfe was slayed by the winds, called Etesia, which are against them that saile to Alexandria.

In the meane time, forasmuch as he conceived, that if controuersies between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Consul; and so much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Consulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, with Ptolemy the Father: in regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the king and his sister Cleopatra, should dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minority of the Child; he first began to eplainne among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King should be called out to pleade his Cause: and afterwards, hauing gotten some assistance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie secretly from Pelusium, to Alexandria, and made Achilles (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promises, as from the King, and insuauing him by Letters & Messengers, what he would haue done.

Ptolemy, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by reason of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such business for the present, were left with Pompey, and the Original, signed and sealed up, was brought to Alexandria.

While Caesar was handling these things, being very desirous to end these controuersies by arbitrement, it was told him on a suddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Canall, were come to Alexandria. Caesars forces were not such that he durst trust vpon them, to haue a battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept himselfe in such places, as were most fit & convenient for him, within the towne, and to learne what Achilles intended. Howsoever, hee commanded all the souldiers to Armes; and exhorted the King, that of those which were nere selfe vnto him, and of greatest authority, hee would send some to Achilles, to knowe his meaning.

Dioscorides and Serapion; being deputed there-vnto, hauing bene both Embassadors at Rome, and in great place about Ptolemy the Father; they came to Achilles: whom as soone as they were come into his presence, & before he would heare or vnderstand what they would, commanded them to be taken away, and slaine. Of whom, one hauing received a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was slaine out-right. Whereupon, Caesar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather moued by the private practise of some seditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

OBSER-

ding as it was
written in a Co-
lume of gold,
at Memphis.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lib. 2. Epist. 8.

THE multiplicitie of occasions and troubles, which happen to such as haue the ordering of any busineses of import, doth make that of Plinie often remembered: *Veteribus negotijs noua accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quasi Catenis, mains in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now spent his malice, and was no more to appeare in Armes against Caesar: yet his hap was by flying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was necessarilie to be intangled in a dangerous warre.

Lib. 15. cap. 18.

To these prodigies heere mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, that The same day the battell happened, there fell out a strange wonder at Padua: where a certaine Priest, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, suddainlie fell into an extasie, and said, he saw a great battell asarre off; Darts and Piles flie thicke in the ayre, some flying, and some pursuing, great slaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, cried out, that Caesar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the pretents; but, afterwards, held in great admiration.

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

Plinie maketh the small increase of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; *Minimusque Pharusico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam lumine auesante.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Caesar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and causeth Photinus to be slaine.



THE forces that were with Achilles, were neither for their number, or fashion of men, or use, or experience in war, to be contemned, hauing twentie-two thousand men in Armes. These troops consisted of the Gabinian soldiers, which were now growne into a custome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and hauing forgot the name and discipline of the people of Rome, had there married vniues, and most of them had children. To these were added such as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Prouinces of Cilicia, and other finitime Regions: besides many banished men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a sure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, vpon giuing up of his name, he

he was presently inrolled a souldier: and if one chanced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the conourse of souldiers; vvhoe, being all in the same condition, did strive for him, as for themselves: these required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian Arme.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had bene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptoleme the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this use and knowledge they had of vvaire. Achilles, trusting to these forces, and contemning the small number of Caesars troopes, did take and possesse Alexandria; and further, assaulting that part of the towne which Caesar held with his men, did first of all indeauour to breake into his house: but Caesar, hauing disposed the cohorts in the streets & waies, did beare out the assault. At the same time, they fought likewise at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible encounter: for, hauing drawne out their troopes, the fight began to be hot in diuers streets and lanes: and the Enemie (in great troopes) went about to possesse themselves of the Gallies, of which there were L. found there, that were sent to serue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Thessalia. These were all Triremes, and Quinquemes, rigged, and ready to goe to sea.

Besides these, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accustomed to bee the best, for the defence of Alexandria, and were all furnished with decks: which if they had taken, together with Caesars shipping, they would haue had the Hauens and the Sea at their command; and by that meanes, hindered Caesar from succours and prouision of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both sides; Achilles expecting victory, and our men for their safetie. But Caesar, obtaining his purpose: and because he was not able to keepe so many fewell things with so small forces, he set them all on fire, together with those that were in the Road, & presently landed some souldiers at Pharus; which is a tower in an island, of a great height, & built with strange workmanship, taking that name from the island: this island lieth ouer against Alexandria, and so maketh it a Hauen. But former Kings had enlarged it a hundred paces in length, by raising great mounts in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it so nere to the towne, that they ioyned them both together with a bridge.

In this island dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what shippes soeuer had fallen off their course, either by tempest or error, were there robbed by these Egyptians. For, by reason of the narrow entrance, no shippes can come into the Hauen, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharus. Caesar, being afraid of this, while the Enemie was busie in fight, landed his souldiers, tooke the place, and there put a garnison. Whereby he brought it to passe, that both come and succours might safely come by sea to supply him: for, he had sent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they so fought, that they gaue ouer at length vpon equal conditions: which

which happened by reason of the narrowness of the passages: And a few of each side being slaine, Caesar took in such places as were most convenient for him, & fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings house (wherein, hee himselfe at his first arrivall, was appointed to lodge) and a Theater ioyned to the house, which was in stead of a Castle, and had a passage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, he increased these fortifications, to the end he might have them as a wall against the enemy, and thereby need not fight against his will.

In the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in question, found meanes to conway herselfe out of the Kings house, to Achilles, and both ioynly together, undertooke the managing of that warre: but presently there grew a controuersie between this, who should command in Chiefe; which was the cause of great largesse and rewards to the souldiers, either of them being at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was busied in these things, Photinus, the Governour of the young King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Caesars partie, sent Messengers to Achilles, exhorting him, not to desist in the business, or to bee discouraged. Vpon the discovering and apprehension of which Messengers, Caesar caused him to be slaine. And these were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Pharos is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-against Alexandria; in the midst whereof, Ptolomey Philadelphus built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppes many great Lantemes, to keepe light in the night, for a marke to such as were at Sea. The Architector ingraued there-vpon this inscription; *Solfrates Gnidien, the sonne of Dexiphanes, to the Gods, Conservators, for the safety of Navigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the seauen Wonders of the world. The first whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus. The second, was the Sepulchre which Artemisia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mausolus, whose ashes she dranke. The third, was the Colossus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fifth, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The sixth, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-score cubites in height; and was all of luorie, and pure Gold. And the seauenth, was this Pharus.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	1	Ensignes	ensigne.
125	25	uncapable	uncapable.
133	30	ergo	ergo.
150	3	sopken	spoken.
205	19	they	as they.